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ABSTRACT

This report describes the ethnographic phase of a 2-year study (consisting of ethnographic observation and a survey) on how perceptions of home and school climates and interaction between the two factors might affect school performance among students of different racial/ethnic groups, sex, and socioeconomic status. Ethnographic case studies of seventh graders from five ethnic groups in the Boston, Massachusetts, area are presented. Groups studies included Americans of Armenian, Irish, Jewish, Portuguese, and West Indian backgrounds. Each study describes the history and characteristics of the group, community, and neighborhood investigated; research methods used; and the children's perceptions of home and school structures and organization, relationships with others in school and at home, and personal development and learning environments in the home and in school. Areas of congruence and incongruence between perceptions of homes and schools within the areas of structure, relationships, and personal development are identified, and summaries and conclusions for each ethnic group are presented. (MJL)

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TDR Associates, Inc. Training/Development/Research

FINAL REPORT

A Study of Interaction Effects of School and Home Environments On Students of Varying Race/Ethnicity, Class, and Gender

Volume II

Ethnographies of Five Racial/Ethnic Groups

Prepared for the
National Institute of Education
Contract No. 400-79-0076

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Prepared by:

TDR Associates, Inc.
December, 1981

UD 022 516

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FOREWORD

The report is presented in three volumes. Volume I introduces the study; explains its purposes and methods; presents a cross-case analysis of ethnographies on five racial/ethnic groups; reports on a questionnaire survey which builds on the ethnographies; and offers overall conclusions and implications for improved practice and future research. Volume II consists of the complete ethnographies of the five groups studied. Volume III, "A Practitioners' Guide For Achieving Equity In Multicultural Schools" summarizes the study findings, and presents a step-by-step process for multicultural school improvement.

Because this effort builds on prior work, it is not possible to adequately acknowledge here the many individuals who contributed indirectly to the study. Nevertheless, we wish to recognize those who participated directly, and identify their special contribution beyond the shared team effort. John D. Herzog (Co-Principal Investigator) directed the ethnographic study, supervised field staff, edited the fieldworkers' case writeups, and is the author of the introduction to the ethnographies and the cross-case analysis. Herbert J. Walberg (Co-Principal Investigator) conducted the survey data analyses with myself (Principal Investigator and Study Director) and Mary Hyde (Programmer), and he co-authored the survey report with me. I also wrote the Introduction and Conclusion to Volume I, and the Practitioners' Guide (Volume III). Sarah L. Lightfoot (Co-Principal Investigator) participated in critical conceptual, methodological, and interpretive phases of the study. Marjorie H. O'Reilly (Survey Coordinator) managed the survey questionnaire administration and data feedback to the participating schools. Marjorie K. Madoff administered the pilot testing of the survey questionnaire, and participated in its development. The fieldstaff for the ethnographic component, and the subjects of their case writeups are: Karen and Lester Holtzblatt, Jewish-American; Margaret McDonough and Pierce Butler, Irish-American; Seda Yaghoubian and Ara Ghazarians, Armenian-American; Nancy Marshall and Mark Handler, Portuguese-American; and V. Michael McKenzie, West Indian-American. And, last but not least, Joni Herson who typed the report and helped to coordinate the entire effort.

Special recognition and thanks are also extended to the many school personnel, students, and parents who participated in the study, and to Michael Cohen (NIE Project Officer) for his kind assistance and encouragement. Although this was a group effort with individual specialities, I take full responsibility for any errors or misinterpretations of the complete study, beyond the sections of the report which I personally authored and edited.

William J. Genova
Principal Investigator and
Study Director

Abstract

This two-year study which began in August, 1979, was undertaken to explore how school and home "climates" might possibly interact to affect the learning and behavior of students of diverse racial/ethnic, national origin, gender, and socioeconomic backgrounds. School climate and home climate refer here to such psychological/social factors as the extent of involvement, expressiveness, goal direction, challenge, and order, which characterize such environments. Prior research has documented separate school climate and home climate effects on student learning and behavior. In this study the investigators set out to explore possible interaction effects--congruities and incongruities between such school climate and home climate factors, which may stimulate or frustrate learning and acceptable/productive behaviors in the school setting. The study included ethnographies of five racial/ethnic groups of seventh graders (N = 63) in five different communities, and a questionnaire survey of 1,290 seventh and eighth grade students in six racially/ethnically mixed middle schools in five different communities.

The major findings of the study are:

1. Inequity in school outcomes is confirmed--there are significant differences among racial/ethnic (and class and gender) groups in the sample in days absent, (standardized) reading achievement, grade point averages, and teacher academic and social ratings (but not in suspensions).

2. Some schools are more equitable than other schools--many of the school outcome levels for particular racial/ethnic (and class and gender) groups vary significantly, as do their ratings of their school climates, according to which school they attend.

3. Schools vary more than homes--adolescents who identify with particular racial/ethnic groups describe their home climates with striking similarity, yet markedly differently from other racial/ethnic groups. In contrast, students from the same racial/ethnic groups who attend different schools in different communities characterize their school climates quite differently. By socioeconomic class and gender groups, students' ratings of their school climates vary much more than their ratings of their home climates.

4. Schools and homes both affect school outcome--the statistical significance and magnitude of the correlations are highest for independent home-climate and school-climate effects on school outcomes for all students, irrespective of racial/ethnic, socioeconomic class, or gender groups.

5. Home-school discrepancies affect school outcomes--for particular racial/ethnic groups who rate their school climates higher than their home climates on specific variables, such "discrepancies" are correlated with positive school outcomes (e.g., lower absence and higher achievement) in 73% of such cases. For the remaining 27% of the discrepancies, negative school outcomes emerge (e.g., higher absence, low achievement) when the school is rated higher than the home. Though significant, these correlates are modest and varied, showing few meaningful patterns for any particular sub-group across schools.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Foreword i

I. INTRODUCTION TO THE ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORTS 1

- A. General Goals of the Ethnographic Component 1
- B. General Ethnographic Strategies 4
- C. Selection and Preparation of Staff 8
- D. Site Selection 11
- E. Selection of Subjects and Families 15
- F. Preparing the Ethnographic Reports 20
- G. Ethical Issues in the Fieldwork 22

II. JEWISH-AMERICAN 27

- A. Introducation 27
- B. Community Studied 28
- C. Methodology 35
- D. Relationships 54
- E. Organization 121
- F. Personal Development 182
- G. Conclusions 223

III. IRISH-AMERICAN 231

- A. Introduction 231
- B. Community Studied 238
- C. Methodology 242
- D. Relationships 257
- E. Organization 270
- F. Personal Development 282
- G. Conclusions 288

IV. ARMENIAN-AMERICAN 292

- A. Introduction 292
- B. Community Studied 303
- C. Methodology 306
- D. Relationships 316
- E. Organization 321
- F. Personal Development 323
- G. Conclusions 330

Page

V. PORTUGUESE-AMERICAN 332

A. Introduction 332
B. Community Studied 333
C. Methodology 339
D. Relationships 347
E. Organization 371
F. Personal Development 393
G. Conclusions 424

VI. WEST INDIAN-AMERICAN 431

I. INTRODUCTION TO THE ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORTS

A. General Goals of the Ethnographic Component

This volume of the report includes this introduction and five ethnographies. The ethnographies (or case studies) deal with the perceptual worlds of seventh graders of five different ethnic groups in the Boston area, youngsters of Armenian, Irish, Jewish, Portuguese, and West Indian-American backgrounds. The fieldworkers' research and writing focus especially on these young teens' understanding of their home life and family relations, and less intensively on their conceptualizations of their neighborhood, peer group, and school. The ethnographers supplement this material with data drawn from their observations of, and participation with, the youngsters. Thus, a combined "emic" (phenomenological) and "etic" (objective) analysis is presented, with an emphasis on the former.

The breadth, detail, and sophistication of the five case studies vary enormously. The report on the Jewish youngsters most closely approximates the level of detail and analysis originally intended, with that on the Portuguese least-well developed, and the depictions of the Irish, Black West Indian, and Armenian youth in intermediate placement. The origins of this diversity are explained below. An important outcome of this variation is that the cross-group analysis, which follows the separate cases, draws most heavily upon the Jewish material. However, all five sets of researchers employed a common outline in writing their reports, facilitating access to data and ease of interpretation on specific topics. This feature of the ethnographies in part offsets their uneven coverage.

This ethnographic research had two main goals. First, the basic assumption of this project is that people's perceptions of their various social environments influence their behavior in it; more specifically, students' intersecting perceptions of their home and school environments powerfully affect what they learn and how they behave in school. It follows, then, that to predict and influence students' learning one needs to know something of their conceptualizations of the homes and schools that they participate in. Knowledge of people's perceptions can be gained through interaction with them, during which they reveal their thoughts and "mental maps." Social scientists typically employ structured devices such as questionnaires, interviews, and naturalistic experiments to elicit subjects' perceptions, but to use such techniques the investigator must presume he/she possesses at least rudimentary knowledge of the subjects' perceptual domains in which he/she is interested.

In the circumstance of this research, we knew of numerous prior studies about how students perceive their schools, but we were unwilling to presume that we knew how teenagers of contrasting ethnicity characterize their homes and families. In our literature search, very few earlier investigations of adolescents' perceptions of homes and families, as distinguished from their values about, and evaluations of, such institutions were turned up. Indeed a basic hypothesis of this research is that students' perceptions of home and school vary by ethnicity, and that ethnic groups' relative achievement in school can be partially explained as the outcome of their members' differential experiencing of those environments. We thus needed a less "presumptive" technique than questionnaires, interviews, etc., at the start of our research, and we turned to ethnography. We felt that through coordinated ethnographic inquiries into several communities, we could begin to delineate how the youngsters in each perceive their homes, their families, and their schools, and how these together combine to affect their school achievement and behavior.

The second purpose of the ethnographic component was to provide a base of knowledge for developing an instrument (i.e., a questionnaire) through which children's perceptions of their homes and families could be gathered more systematically and inexpensively than ethnography in the second phase of this research. The School Climate Questionnaire (SCQ), through which students' perceptions of their schools can be reliably ascertained, already existed, the product of five years of TDR effort. An analogous Home Climate Questionnaire (HCQ) was needed, to verify and/or correct the findings of the ethnographies and to provide data on a larger sample for quantitative analysis of the variables of the study.

Accordingly, after periods of fieldwork ranging from one to five months, the field staff temporarily became item-writers and instrument-designers. To facilitate statistical analysis, we organized potential HCQ items, whenever possible, into variables parallel to the thirteen "factors" of the existing SCQ. In May and June of 1980, the staff generated nearly 500 "raw" items within thirteen dimensions seemingly descriptive of home and family; through debate, field-testing, and statistical analysis (described elsewhere), these were reduced to the 54 items (4 items for each of the 13 factors), now included in the HCQ.

The important points here are that the HCQ originated in the diverse knowledge and experience of the fieldworkers; and that each question, in order to survive, had to pass the assessment of the fieldworkers' in terms of its probable clarity, fairness, centrality, offensiveness, etc., for the teenagers and the families with whom they were working, as well as more orthodox statistical and editorial processing. In sum, the field research had two main products: the ethnographies that follow, and the Home Climate instrument that played a central role in the quantitative phase of this project.

B. General Ethnographic Strategies

In our proposal, we specified that the fieldworkers would "immerse themselves in the homes, neighborhoods, schools, and peer groups of the students" who agreed to participate in the study. Over a five to six month period, on a half-time basis, the researchers would "'shadow' their subjects, sampling all times of the day and waking hours in the evening;" their note-taking would be "unobtrusive." While shadowing, we expected to learn "from many more persons than the designated informant," exploiting the "openness and naturalness" of the situation to gain access to a "wider range of data" than can usually be obtained from conventional interviewing procedures. Our methods, we stated, would be "closely akin" to the "key informant" strategy widely practiced in anthropology (TDR 1979:16).

The traditional procedure for ethnographic fieldwork, according to Rist (1980:9) is that "a single individual (sometimes a couple) would go to the field site, become enmeshed in the life of that site, and only after a long and involved period of time, begin to formulate a framework for the analysis. Theory was 'grounded' in experience." In several ways, our planned procedures departed from Rist's characterization. Five or six months of research, on a part-time basis, are not the equivalent of "a long and involved period of time." On the other hand, we did not expect to be able to make definitive statements as the result of our qualitative inquiries: they were intended as stimuli and backdrops for the methodologically more rigorous quantitative phase of the research.

Additionally, in our proposal we indicated that the "primary focus" of the fieldworkers' investigations would be the home environments of the youngsters as these could be interpreted via the thirteen school environment factors of the previously-existing SCQ. In thus importing to the field an explicit, if flexible, framework for ordering it, we were departing from Rist's traditional model in another major respect. He points out that this is nonetheless common practice in anthropology nowadays:

> The idea of...allowing issues and problems to emerge from extensive time on site has...given way to the preformulation of research problems, to the specifying of precise activities... to be observed and to the analytic framework within which the study is to be conducted.
>
> (Rist, 1980:9)

Once in the field, however, the staff departed from both the traditional and contemporary procedures described by Rist to an extent that what they did do is probably not classifiable as full-fledged ethnography. They were unable to "immerse" or "enmesh" themselves in the children's lives, the better to observe spontaneous behavior in natural settings, because delays in arranging access to communities and families foreshortened the time available for fieldwork. Further, the salaries budgeted for fieldworkers proved to be unrealistically low and part-time, attracting less experienced persons than expected and requiring each to hold an additional part-time job. The staff's part-time status, their relative inexperience, and the age differential between themselves and the students produced a lower level of rapport between staff and children than we hoped to achieve. Similarly, only in the Jewish and West Indian communities did we achieve the approximate sample size (eight boys and eight girls) originally intended.

The research strategies actually employed by the fieldteams differed in certain respects from each other and are described in each ethnography. In general, after a few very informal introductory sessions with each student and his/her family, the researchers administered covertly semi-structured interviews, in the child's home or some other natural setting. These interviews focused on topics identified during staff discussions of the School Climate variables, as transformed for application to the home environment.

This focusing intensified after April of 1980, when work began on the Home Climate items. The net effect was the shaping of the children's responses to some extent in the direction of our own categories, contrary to our original intention. In many cases, these interviews occurred in the presence of third parties: siblings, friends, parents, etc., and the reactions of these persons were also recorded. In most homes, the fieldworker became a familiar visitor, behaving more like an informal questioner than unobtrusive companion. Frequently the researcher met a child by appointment after school, and accompanied him/her home; afternoon, evening, and weekend forays into the neighborhood also were common. Some of the researchers organized excursions (e.g., to a ballgame or an ice cream parlor) for their informants. Most established warm relationships with the children's parents, who seemed to regard them as beneficial influences on the youngsters and were eager to discuss the children and childrearing in general with the visitors.

Our field techniques departed from the "standard ethnographic" in additional ways that may have improved, as well as decreased, the validity of the findings. Two staff members worked in each of the five communities: a female with the girls, a male with the boys. In four of the communities, both researchers were co-ethnics of the children and families they were studying. Further, the Armenian fieldworkers were fluent in several Armenian dialects, as well as English; with the Irish, Jewish, and West Indian groups bilinguality was not necessary. Neither of the staff working with the Portuguese stemmed from that background, but one was fluent in the language and the other possessed a useful knowledge of it. We also maintained a fairly high level of staff stability: only one, working with the West Indian girls, left before completing her fieldwork. Two others, involved with the West Indian boys and Portuguese boys, respectively finished their fieldwork but wrote their ethnographic contributions after leaving Boston to take on responsibilities elsewhere.

The ten staff members and two or three senior staff were in close contact with each other, especially during the period of intensive fieldwork from December of 1979 through July of 1980. Staff meetings occurred biweekly during these months and somewhat less often through November, 1980. The staff thus experienced multiple opportunities and pressures to articulate their observations and difficulties to each other. The item-writing and -editing sessions of May and June proved especially productive in this regard, with the members deeply engaged in constructing an instrument aimed at confirming and/or challenging their qualitative findings, both generally and for specific ethnic groups. Finally, all of the fieldworkers were deeply interested in the specific ethnic groups they were studying, as well as intrigued by the project as a whole. They routinely contributed more time in the field, in note-taking, and in meetings than we could compensate them for.

The manner in which the project was presented to prospective participants, and its emphasis on predicting academic achievement and school behavior, probably biased to some extent the samples assembled in each community. Attracted to participate were families and youngsters who valued school success, who enjoyed informal intellectual discussions, who had little to cloak in their private lives, and who felt at least moderately prideful about their membership in their ethnic group. We noticed that foreign-born parents and children, especially in the Armenian, Portuguese, and West Indian communities, were more willing to join the study than second and third generation persons we approached. Whether this related to the aforementioned pride of membership, or to a possible propensity for immigrants to try to conform to seemingly "official" requests (i.e., the study was sponsored by the Federal Government), we cannot say. Nor can we speculate usefully on how the possible sample biases influenced the fieldworkers' data and conclusions.

C. Selection and Preparation of Staff

Recruitment of staff began in October, 1979, immediately after contract finalization. Vacancy notices went out to over forty university placement offices and social science departments, as well as to personal contacts. Our objective was to assemble two-person, male-female teams, co-ethnic with the children to be studied and bilingual, if appropriate, to work in five ethnic neighborhoods in the Greater Boston area. We planned to select the five ethnic groups from a pool of ten or twelve commonly recognized groups resident in the Boston area, roughly stratifying our choices according to the alleged school "success" of their children. We intended to select staff and sites simultaneously, looking for appropriate communities when well qualified applicants of a specific ethnicity appeared, and for professionally qualified applicants to match ethnic communities to which we had likelihood of access.

We essentially followed these plans, although more slowly than expected. Qualified fieldworkers were hard to find, because we were hiring in the late fall after most graduate students' plans for the year had been settled, and because of the low pay ($5.00 per hour) and part-time assignments we offered. By mid-December we had assembled male and female staff to work in Armenian, Jewish, and West Indian communities, and a female staff member to concentrate on a Portuguese site. By mid-January, two Irish and the male Portuguese specialists had been hired, but our female West Indian colleague declared herself overcommitted and resigned.

Basically, she was never replaced; a successor met with the West Indian girls for several weeks and then also withdrew.

We hypothesized that Jewish children were especially successful in school, Armenian and West Indian children moderately accomplished, Irish next, and Portuguese least successful. This simple-minded ranking, although based on extensive reading and conversations with local educators, did not affect our subsequent field procedures; it promised a range of variation on the dependent measures of the study that estimated school "success." We early considered including a Chinese-American community (high success), but a well qualified applicant terminated her candidacy. We expected to consider groups of Italian (moderate success), Northern Black (low success) and Puerto Rican (low success) ancestry for inclusion among our five subsamples, but no applicants of these extractions presented themselves.

Formal meetings of senior staff (Genova, Herzog) and consultants (Lightfoot, Walberg) occurred during the start-up week (10/79), midway in the fieldwork process (4/80), at the conclusion of fieldwork and beginning of the pilot testing of the HCQ (11/80), as final ethnographic drafts were being written and quantitative data were ready for analysis (7/81), and when the first quantitative analyses became available (9/81). Genova and Herzog communicated weekly or more often on project affairs. Lightfoot and Walberg each led a meeting of the fieldworkers and intermittently consulted with Genova and/or Herzog.

Meetings of the staff of fieldworkers, chaired by Herzog, began in December, 1979, and continued every two or three weeks through November, 1980. A second series, mainly concerned with the organization of the ethnographic reports, took place during the spring months of 1981. From time to time, teams and individual staffers met separately with Herzog, as well as in groups of three or four without him, to discuss matters of common concern.

The following are some of the chief topics discussed and tasks accomplished at the meetings of the full staff of fieldworkers:

- Goals and procedures for a literature search on each ethnic group, especially focused on the school performance of the children of the group.
- The reality of ethnic groups in the U.S.: what, if anything, are they?
- Relationships between perceptions and behavior, especially the impact of incongruities between what a person perceives and what he/she expects to perceive.
- Various ethnographic techniques to use in the field, especially "focused probe" techniques.
- Clarifying the major focus of the study: childrens' perceptions of their homes, rather than of peers, schools or selves.
- Distinguishing children's perceptions of their homes (emic data) vs. the fieldworkers' perceptions of the homes (etic data), emphasizing the former.
- How the fieldworkers can explain the project and themselves to various constituencies in the field, and enhance the cooperation of all.
- Ethical implications and pitfalls of fieldwork, especially those of privacy for individuals, communities, and schools participating.
- Ethical and policy implications of the possible findings of the study: will these be used to help schools differentiate to serve various ethnic groups better, or to pressure children, families, and ethnic groups to conform more closely to "mainstream values?"
- Contrasting recruitment plans and procedures, community by community.
- Contrasting fieldwork strategies in the different communities, as dictated by sample size, starting dates of field research, school and parents' attitudes, fieldworkers' time and interests, etc.
- Domains and factors of the SCQ as these contrast with possible domains and factors for the HCQ; decisions on HCQ domains and factors.
- Item generation, editing, and elimination for the pilot version of the HCQ.
- Target populations for administering the HCQ and other objective instruments: ethnic groups, communities, schools.
- Categories for data analysis and common outline for writing the separate ethnographies.

- Ways of analyzing ethnographic reports that are unequal in breadth, depth, and face validity.
- Coordination with staff working on the quantitative phase of the study, in preparing a final report and subsequent publications.

D. Site Selection

As indicated above, site selection proceeded apace with staff recruitment. We entered each community (with one exception) via the local school system, in order to be able to contact a sizable population of the desired ethnicity, to enhance our credibility with parents and other citizens, and ultimately to be in a position to obtain various estimates of the school success of each child in the sample. The quid pro quo for assistance that we offered each system was multiple: participation in a project that dealt with a problem that most school people recognized immediately as genuine and pressing, minimal disturbance of the routine of the school, hourly compensation to any teachers and school staff who spent time gathering data (e.g., from school records) for the project. Most important was the promise of a full report and workshop for the school on the results of the administration of the School Climate Questionnaire, which was part of the design of the quantitative phase of the study, and already known to many administrators as a valuable tool in school self-improvement efforts.

Details about the process of obtaining the cooperation of the various schools and school systems appear in the five ethnographies, and will only be summarized here. The Center City Superintendent of Schools had informally agreed to the involvement of his system before the project began; in January of 1980 the School Committee ratified his position. By this time we had identified several potential West Indian fieldworkers, whom we directed to a K-8 school in a neighborhood that houses a sizable West Indian population. The Master and teachers of the school were most cooperative; they provided lists of children whom they believed to be of

West Indian background, and the contacting of the children and their families began early in February. Actual fieldwork started in March, although mostly with boys, and continued through June.

After interviewing several applicants of Armenian background, we approached the Superintendent of the Rivertown Schools, whose community contains a concentration of families of that ethnic origin. The School Committee quickly approved his recommendation that the study be authorized. The staff of the Armenian Bilingual Program proved uninterested in the project, but the Principal of the junior high school that most Armenian-American children attend became very enthusiastic about it. He prepared lists of students of apparent Armenian extraction, whom the fieldworkers contacted in February and March. The researchers recruited additional participants through the Armenian churches in the community, as explained in their ethnography. Fieldwork with this group extended from March through October.

Early in the recruiting process a woman applied who was already engaged in informal fieldwork in the Portuguese community of Hillside, and who intended to conduct later doctoral research in that neighborhood. In February the Hillside Superintendent and School Committee approved our request to work out of the junior high school in the neighborhood, as did the local Portuguese citizens group, with whom our staff member had previous connections. The Principal and the staff were helpful in preparing lists of potential participants and arranging meetings of them in school. Fieldwork began here in March, but ceased in June, as both staff members had to attend to other responsibilities.

The fieldworkers assigned to work with Jewish children, a husband and wife team with considerable experience in a similar kind of research, were the first to be hired, on the assumption that TDR contacts with the administrations of the two school districts adjacent to the team's place of residence would produce access to the large numbers of Jewish children attending the schools of one or both. Unfortunately, both systems were unwilling to approve involvement in an additional research project that did not bring them more immediate and tangible rewards; they further seemed to fear complaints from Jewish parents about being singled out for study. After these rebuffs (in November and December, 1979) the fieldworkers contacted several synagogues in the same towns, where they were cordially received and from which they were able to assemble large and cooperative samples. The contacts occurred in January, with fieldwork extending from February through July. Unfortunately, cooperative relationships with the public schools that these children attended never developed.

Senior staff in this project had professional and personal contacts with people in the Stapleton Schools, with whom they thought it would be easy to arrange a study of a group of Irish background. Preliminary discussions with the Prinicpal of the chosen middle school progressed encouragingly. However, the Superintendent recommended to the School Committee that TDR's request not be approved, on grounds similar to those expressed by the administrators in the other two school systems that declined. We then followed up additional "connections" with the staff of a K-8 Catholic parochial school serving the same neighborhood; the School Committee rejected the Principal's suggestion to participate. Finally, in February and also utilizing previous relationships, approval was received from the Superintendent and School Committee of the Rumfield Schools. In March and April the fieldworkers received lists of possible students from the junior high school staff and from an associated, mostly Irish, parents group; they were not able to begin actual fieldwork until May. The ethnographer focusing on the boys continued his investigations through October, but the female staff member began to withdraw from the project early in the summer.

Three lessons learned from these negotiations seem important enough to be recorded here for future researchers. First, the members of ethnically-oriented groups are generally not offended by or antagonistic to the notion of "being studied," if they are approached frankly and respectfully for permission prior to data being collected. Quite the contrary: they are more often flattered, cooperative, and interested in the study's possible results as a way of learning more about their group's origins and present condition. This is what we found in dealing with the Armenian churches, the Portuguese citizen group, the rabbis and Hebrew School staff of the synagogues, and the mostly Irish parents group. (We dealt with no ethnic organization of West Indians.) Sometimes the leaders of such groups raise the question of quid pro quo, quite appropriately; but since it is hard to figure out what form this might take, the issue soon recedes and the leaders' underlying curiosity about their people rises to the fore.

Second, high ranking school officials (and perhaps other local officials) are much readier to authorize research on groups in their community that are relatively small-sized and politically unimportant, than on dominant groups. Thus, Center City, Riverside, and Hillside School Committees did not hesitate to allow us to go into their buildings to work with West Indian, Armenian, and Portuguese children, respectively. But two communities, in which the Jewish population is influential, refused to participate in the project, even though representatives of that group whom we contacted later were cooperative with our work. Further, Irish are the dominant ethnic group in Stapleton, where both the public schools and a parochial school declined to participate. In Rumfield, persons of Italian background are a heavy majority, and approval to work with Irish youth and families was not hard to arrange. It appears that the study of American ethnic groups might well become the study of ethnic groups in minority status in their respective home towns, unless steps are taken to counter this bias.

Finally, almost all of the school building administrators, teachers, and ethnic group leaders with whom we worked expressed serious interest in the major focus of this research, the relationship of ethnicity and school "success." Their responses contrast sharply with educators' typical reactions to academics' research on schools. As the quantitative component of this project demonstrates anew, the ethnicity-school "success" relationship is difficult to document, yet school people and ethnic leaders insist that it exists. They are eager to understand the dynamics of the process and how they can intervene in it helpfully, and will support, we believe, further research in this area.

E. Selection of Subjects and Families

As with the choice of sites, selection of subjects proceeded differently in each community. The steps followed are detailed in the separate ethnographies and will be only outlined here.

Due to the delays in securing entry to the schools, the staff had plenty of time during December, January, and February (1979-1980) to devise and try out in single communities a general explanation of the study and of subjects' potential contributions to it. This explanation was not intended as a "script," however, and the fieldworkers adapted it to local circumstances in each community. Sometimes it was delivered orally to children and/or parents and/or teachers, sometimes in written form, and sometimes both formats were used. The statement covered the following topics:

1. Name of project, description of TDR Associates, explanation of NIE sponsorship.

2. Emphasis that we are studying how children think about their homes, not how their parents are raising them; descriptive, not evaluative.

3. Reason for such study is that we believe how children think about home influences how they think about school, and that both influence how well they do in school; we want to help schools help all children.

4. Study will take place in five neighborhoods in Greater Boston, with five ethnic groups, primarily with seventh graders.

5. Project has the approval of the school system; names of child and family were obtained from the child's school.

6. Procedures will be informal, with male worker for boys, female for girls; they will accompany chosen children in out-of-school activities, at home and in neighborhood; parents and child should expect intermittent visits from and conversations with fieldworker(s).

7. In the spring, staff will write and administer questionnaire focused on children's thoughts about home; they will also write a short "book" on the neighborhood and its families; children and families may read first draft and make suggestions for changes.

8. Privacy of everyone will be protected, so far as possible; we will not relay information from parents to teachers, etc.; in book, persons and community will be disguised.

9. Names and phone numbers of fieldworkers supplied here; name and phone numbers of their supervisor (Herzog) also supplied here; call any of these whenever a problem.

10. Written consent of student and his/her parents required for participation in the study; if hesitant, we prefer they not agree to join.

In Center City, the Master and seventh and eighth grade teachers (one of whom was a member of the West Indian subgroup) drew up a list of probable West Indian youngsters. The fieldworkers contacted these children in school, individually or in groups of two or three, and gave them written descriptions and permission forms to bring to their parents. Over a period of four or five weeks, the parents and children responded, some after considerable prodding. Nearly 100% of the seventh and eighth graders identified as "West Indian" by the school staff agreed to be in the project. (The number of children in the neighborhood identifiable as West Indian proved to be smaller than expected. For this reason, and to our disappointment, the school was not included in the subsequent quantitative phase of the project.)

The Principal of the Riverside Junior High School also drew up a list of apparently Armenian seventh-graders in his school, which the fieldworkers supplemented with lists from, and face-to-face recruiting sessions in, three Armenian churches in the neighborhood. They used a variety of methods, detailed in their report, to explain the study to the children and their families and to gain their involvement. In general, immigrant children or the children of immigrant parents were more willing to participate than second and third generation youngsters. The sample is heavily weighted towards youngsters with this sort of background.

After rejections by both school systems, the ethnographers designated to work with Jewish children and families turned to the synagogues in adjoining sections of both towns. There they met with children of seventh grade age in Hebrew School classes, explained the project, and asked for volunteers. Parents of those volunteering were contacted shortly thereafter, and a meeting was held in each home, with all parties present. In this manner, the fieldworkers assembled an adequate sample, experiencing turn-downs by a few parents who felt that the study would add further complications to already complex household schedules. The sample appears to be representative of middle class, third or more generation, religiously involved Jews, although we recognize that this is a rather vaguely defined category.

The guidance and bilingual staffs at Hillside Junior High compiled a list of Portuguese-background children and asked them to attend an after-school meeting to learn about the project. Although attendance was good, considering the time of day, very few children volunteered to participate, and the parents of some of these would not give their assent. Both children and parents appeared uncomfortable with the idea of a "foreign presence" in their homes, and both boys and girls had money-earning or domestic responsibilities after school to an extent not approached in the other groups; for both reasons, they were reluctant to become involved. The six children and families who ultimately participated must be regarded as more comfortable in dealing with the non-Portuguese outside world than their friends and neighbors whom we also contacted.

Two teachers at the school in Rumfield assembled a list of "apparently Irish" students, who were called together during school hours for an explanation of and invitation to join the project. The fieldworkers also telephoned children and parents from a second, overlapping list compiled by the officers of a junior high school parents association. Student volunteers were difficult to attract from both pools, but the parents of those youngsters who did come forward almost always strongly supported their child's decision. The resulting sample probably includes a high proportion of relatively sophisticated and intellectually alert children and families from the total population at the school.

In all five communities, we interviewed numerous youngsters who informed us that they were not "pure" members of the ethnic group that we hoped to study: i.e., one of their parents, or one or more of their grandparents, came from a different background. In such instances, we asked the student what he/she considered himself/herself to "be;" if the student's primary response was the group in which we were interested, we retained him/her in the sample, assuming consent by the child and his/her parents. Thus, some individuals of formally "mixed" background occur in each sample, although all participants conceive of themselves as personally oriented toward the group in which they were classified for this study.

We initially chose to work with students of junior high or middle school age because most members of this age cohort (except those who began school elsewhere) are likely still to be enrolled in the public schools, having neither dropped out nor transferred to private or specialized (vocational) schools. Further, early adolescents have mostly reached cognitive levels at which they can sensibly complete questionnaires such as the climate instruments, and also enjoy discussions with sensitive younger adults such as the fieldworkers on topics such as family, neighborhood, and school; we suspected that older students might be more reticent on such matters, especially during the short fieldwork time available. Finally, we focused on seventh graders in particular because in the Boston area it is the least likely of the junior high and middle school years to be either the last grade of an elementary school, concerning which students' ratings of overall climate, as opposed to the climate of particular classrooms, are likely to be suspect, or the first or early year of a large high school, about which new students' climate ratings are also likely to be unreliable.

We had no _quid pro quo_ to offer individual subjects that was as appealing as the SCQ results proved to be for the schools. Overall, students and families who agreed to participate seemed to be those interested in their "roots" and/or amused by conversations on "abstract" topics. Among the West Indian and Armenian samples, those who joined may also have been trying to please an apparent external authority figure (i.e., this was a school and government-supported project). We do not claim that the participants and their ideas are representative of larger groups of West Indian-Americans, Armenian-Americans, Jewish-Americans, Portuguese-Americans, or Irish-Americans. Rather, we report here some of the notions that our volunteer subjects shared with us about their homes and schools. Along some dimensions, these appear to contrast with each other, group by group as well as individually, in ways that deserve to be studied more rigorously among identifiable representative samples. The quantitative section of the present study is an attempt, in part, to do so.

The recruitment procedures described above produced the following numbers of student participants:

Ethnic Group	Boys	Girls
West Indian	11	9
Armenian	5	7
Jewish	7	8
Portuguese	3	3
Irish	6	4
	32	31

F. Preparing the Ethnographic Reports

Discussions about the content and structure of the ethnographic reports began informally in October of 1980. Debate centered on whether to allow the organization of each report to emerge independently from the data collected by the fieldworkers, in traditional style, or to require that each ethnography follow a common framework. Staff soon recognized that the later task of cross-case analysis would be greatly facilitated if the reports followed a similar format. Months earlier all had participated in writing and editing the HCQ items, during which they gained familiarity with the three domains and thirteen factors of that instrument; it was relatively easy for them to conceive of organizing their reports around this set of categories.

In March and April four of the field teams submitted tentative outlines for the reports they intended to write. Each built in the three basic domains of the HCQ, and proposed to deal with the thirteen factors flexibly, as the data allowed; each also listed certain idiosyncratic topics that the team wanted to discuss in its field report.

The fieldwork supervisor (Herzog) undertook to amalgamate these outlines, in collaboration with the staff. A common template acceptable to all emerged in July, after three revisions; the staff employed this outline fairly consistently in writing their reports during the summer of 1981. Unfortunately, staff members were scattered by this time, so that the teams had little opportunity to share report drafts with each other. An abbreviated version of the common outline appears below:

I. Historical Overview: story of the emigration of the group from its country of origin to the U.S., and to the community studied.

II. Description of Community and Neighborhood Studied: economy, politics, schools, relations of this group to others, factions within ethnic group, physical characteristics of area, etc.

III. Research Methods: choice of community, entry procedures and personal relationships developed, fieldworkers' general assumptions and ideology, description of sample, discussion of reliability and validity of data reported.

IV. Organization/Structure: the child's perceptions of the main components of his/her social and physical world (e.g., key personnel, meaningful physical objects, schedules, territories, etc., of the child's home, extended family, school, neighborhood, ethnic group, peer group, etc.); both emic and etic descriptions, with emphasis on comparisons of child's perceptions of the structures of home and school; specific HCQ factors discussed as appropriate.

V. Relationships: the child's perceptions of his/her connections with, and feelings about, key others in the environment, and of others' connections with and feelings about him/her and each other (e.g., relationships between child and parents, child and extended kin, child and members of school community, parents and school community, etc.); both emic and etic descriptions, with emphasis on comparisons of child's perceptions of relationships at home and school; specific HCQ factors discussed as appropriate.

VI. Personal Development/Learning Environments: the child's perceptions of the impacts of various micro-environments in the community, as identified under IV. and V., above, on his/her growth and development (e.g., the educative/socializing influences of parents, extended kin, neighbors, peers, co-ethnics, etc.); both emic and etic descriptions, with special emphasis on comparisons of child's perceptions of home and school as learning environments; specific HCQ factors discussed as appropriate.

VII. Summary and Concluding Remarks: each fieldteam free to develop this section as desired, including the option to present additional material that does no fit logically into the preceding categories.

Further debate revolved around the expected uneven depth and coverage of the five reports. The fieldworkers in the Portuguese community wondered if they could and/or should prepare a document based on so little fieldwork; the male researchers in the West Indian and Irish communities felt constrained by the absence of their female colleagues during the writing period. In the end, all agreed to write what they could according to the outline, surrounding and interspersing their contributions with reminders of the limited nature of the data-base available to them, in these and perhaps other instances. The senior staff member responsible for preparing the cross-case analysis of the reports promised to keep these conditions in mind, using information from the five documents with strict attention to its relative solidity and only cautiously including the Portuguese youngsters and West Indian and Irish girls in the comparisons and generalizations proposed. A detailed explanation of the procedures followed in producing the cross-case analysis appears in the chapter in Volume I focused on that analysis.

G. Ethical Issues in the Fieldwork

The research staff early identified several ethical questions rooted in the work and its possible applications. They devoted considerable time and thought to these matters--some would say overmuch!--throughout the lifetime of the project. The various issues can be reduced to four:

1. "Oversell": in our eagerness to secure the cooperation of school systems, families, and students, how can we stimulate interest in the project, yet also avoid making promises of short- and long-range benefits that we cannot realistically expect to keep? School people may be led to expect assistance in working with diverse student bodies that we cannot provide.

Students and parents may anticipate receiving tutoring and/or child-rearing advice that we are not qualified to offer, as well as a degree of colleagueship in the research and writing that the time available to the field staff does not permit them to provide.

2. Maintenance of Privacy Within the Community: in our day-to-day activities in homes, neighborhood, and school, how can we avoid becoming transmitters of information given to us in confidence by our subjects and other contacts? Are there ever serious, emergency situations when breaches of such confidence are justified? This, of course, a classical dilemma for ethnographic fieldworkers.

3. Maintenance of Privacy for the Community vs. the Outside World: how do we shield the individuals, schools and communities about which we write from identification, other than that which they choose for themselves, after publication of our report(s)? A strong possiblity exists that something we publish may embarrass, annoy, interfere with, or even unwittingly assist one, some, or all of the subjects of the research. In their reports, anthropologists try to disguise their communities and informants, but nowadays complete anonymity is usually impossible.

4. Potential Impact on Public Policy: will the results of the research be used to help schools to differentiate their practices in order to serve various ethnic groups more effectively, as suggested in the original proposal? Or will the results be employed to justify relative neglect of "poorly adapted" ethnic groups, and/or to pressure divergent children, families, and ethnic groups to conform more closely to the mainstream demands of the school? The staff recognized that justifications could be offered for both policy emphases, although they were unanimously committed to the first.

We addressed the issue of possible "oversell" through careful development and rehearsal of the messages to be conveyed to schools, students, and parents, as discussed in the section on "Selection of Subjects and Families," above; pieces of this "statement" were also used in discussions with school officials and teachers. We did not offer to advise schools on how to work with children of varying ethnicity--nor were we asked for such assistance. We did volunteer to report to each school the results of the SCQ administered in it, in a workshop setting in the school building, which offer we honored for those schools that remained interested in holding the workshops. Students and parents rarely mistook us for tutors or counselors, although some of the fieldworkers did render informal assistance with homework and/or participated as equals with parents in discussions of child-rearing in the 1980's.

In our first contacts with students and parents, we told them that they would be allowed to review first drafts of the reports, if they wished, and make suggestions to improve them. Once the project got underway, few subjects expressed interest in doing this, and as the term of the project dwindled, we did not press them to do so. In general, we "sold" the project cautiously and did not build up expectations inappropriately.

The issue of privacy within the community also proved unproblematic. The staff overestimated the extent to which they would be asked to be message-bearers (e.g., from child to parents, parents to teachers, etc.), as well as the possibility of inadvertently communicating feelings or information from one member of the community to another. This exaggeration of the risks probably was beneficial in sensitizing the less experienced fieldworkers to the dangers. Happily, no staff member at any time found himself/herself in an emergency situation when a breach of confidence--to preserve the basic well-being of a subject or someone else in the community--seemed necessary.

Privacy for the community and people and organizations within it is a dilemma we are less sure we have handled adequately. Basically, the staff believes that identification of persons, groups, and places is the prerogative of those persons alone, if they wish to reveal themselves; ideally, the ethnography should name no names and provide very few clues. In practice, however, this condition is almost impossible to obtain. In the ethnographies and cross-case analysis, pseudonyms replace the actual names of all persons, organizations, and places. Physical descriptions of buildings and neighborhoods are deliberately vague. However, we saw no way to avoid naming the general locale and specific ethnic groups of the study. A person knowledgeable about Boston can probably guess which towns and neighborhoods we worked in. We hope, however, that the identities of individual participants are sufficiently disguised to protect them from recognition.

Had participants asked us to follow through on our promise to let them review the first drafts of the fieldworkers' reports, we would have found ourselves in a sticky position. Such readers would have been able to identify each other, at least some of the time, through the most skillful disguises we could provide; loss of confidentiality among neighbors and possibly even relatives may be the most damaging loss of anonymity a person can experience. We were very lucky to escape this dilemma.

Essentially beyond our control is the final question of how the findings of this research will be used to influence educational and public policy. From our perspective, it would be tragic and cruel if support for the hypothesized relationships were interpreted as justifying pressure on ethnic groups to become more like middle-class WASPs, or as releasing educators from the responsibility of making special efforts to teach minority children. Almost as unfortunate would be interpretation of lack of dramatic support for the hypotheses as a demonstration that ethnicity "doesn't matter," and that efforts to modulate the school curriculum to assist minority youngsters may be abandoned. In the ethnographies, the cross-case analysis, and the report of the quantitative study, we repeatedly stress our belief that individual and cultural differences have value and must be nurtured, and that schools have both responsiblity and capacity to fine-tune their practices to develop the interests and proclivities of all of the individuals and groups that attend them. Any other application of the positive results of the study is cynical and self-serving. To the extent that the hypotheses are not supported by the data, the reader should remember the nearly unanimous position of the school people we contacted to participate in the project: ethnicity does make a difference, even if the relationship and their dynamics are difficult to document scientifically.

Schools are charged with helping students develop their potentials as individuals, as American citizens, and as members of ethnic and other sub-groups. Researchers have the task of finding out how individual, social, and ethnic factors affect the learning and development of students in and out of school. Nothing in this report should be understood as contradicting these basic principles.

II. JEWISH-AMERICAN

A. Introduction

This is an ethnography of the family life of a group of Jewish seventh graders. In this work we discuss the perceptions, activities, and experiences of fifteen adolescents (eight females and seven males) in the three major domains accessed by the Home Climate Questionnaire (HCQ)--Organization, Relationships, and Personal Development. To preserve the adolescents' privacy, they are given different sets of names. Further, children's activities and interest areas have been "doctored" (e.g., by substituting one sport for another) as reported here, also to preserve privacy. However, in each section the basic words (and behaviors) of the adolescents are presented as heard or observed.

B. Community Studied

1. Westville and Its Jewish Community

Westville is a suburb located approximately twenty miles west of Boston. With a population of 79,000, it is the largest suburb within the western metropolitan area. A major highway on which several shopping centers are located divides the town in half. This highway tends to serve as a boundary for school districts. Students living on one side of the highway attend one of two middle schools, and one of the town's two high schools. Students living on the other side of the highway attend one of the two other middle schools in town, and the other town high school.

The town is primarily residential. However, several manufacturing companies that employ over 500 employees each are located within the town. Recreational facilities in the town include a Y.M.C.A., a skating arena, two bowling allies, swimming facilities in the middle schools, and several ball fields and parks. The town also has a small museum, several libraries, and is the site of a state college.

Residents within the city are primarily dependent on cars as a means of transportation. The only bus service runs down a single major road connecting the downtown area with a major shopping center. Buses and trains connect Westville with Boston, however.

Homes within the town are primarily single family dwellings constructed within the last 25 years. There are also several large apartment complexes located just off the major highway dividing the town. An older residential area within a mile and a half radius of the downtown area is composed of older dwellings built approximately 50 to 75 years ago. The families in our sample all live in the more recently built-up areas of town, in single family dwellings scattered throughout most of these districts. A detailed description of the neighborhood and homes of the subjects is provided later in this report.

The Jewish community within Westville is a relatively recent phenomenon. Prior to World War II a small tight-knit community of Jews existed in the town. After the war, during the 1950's and in particular the 1960's, there was a substantial influx into the town so that now approximately 3,000 Jewish families reside here. Persons of Jewish background comprise approximately 15% of the total population of Westville.

Historically individuals moved to Westville for a variety of reasons. Jewish communities within certain Boston neighborhoods were disintegrating as a result of an influx of blacks. In addition, the development of the "Route 128 complex" of high technology firms pulled people in this direction. Westville, compared to other communities in the same vicinity of Route 128, in general offered less expensive housing which also accounted for the large influx of young married couples to the town.

Within the last fifteen years the community has been highly mobile. During the early 1970's a large number of layoffs in the high technology field caused a large number of families to move out. Community leaders believe that with increased technology in the high technology field, there will be a corresponding decrement in the mobility of the town.

The Jewish families living in Westville are primarily middle class. Most of the men are employed by large corporations in middle-management positions. They tend not to be able to afford more expensive communities in the western suburbs. However, community leaders note that housing is definitely becoming more expensive in Westville. One individual we interviewed cited a subdivision with fifty families (including thirty Jewish families) in which the houses range in price from $80,000 to $110,000.

Of the approximately 3,000 Jewish families in Westville, about 1,400 are affiliated with one of the three temples in the area. One is a Conservative synagogue located in a neighboring town which serves about 200 Westville families, plus more from the other town. Approximately 600 families belong to each of the other two temples, both located in Westville. Of these one is a Conservative synagogue, and the other Reform. One of the rabbis with whom we spoke asserts that there is little difference between the memberships of the two temples. He feels that people decide which temple to join on the basis of their location with respect to their homes, rather than their desire to belong to a particular type of synagogue. He feels that the members of the two synagogues do not differ substantially in their adherence to Jewish religious practices, which he feels is generally low.

Community leaders agree that Jews living in Westville are highly assimilated. One rabbi notes that they are so assimilated that they are not even conscious of the extent of their assimilation. All of the Jewish children go to school on religious holidays, except Yom Kippur and Rosh Hashonah. The public schools in Westville are closed on both of these holidays as a result of the efforts of one of the town's rabbis. Few families maintain a kosher home; the number of kosher meat markets has declined over recent years from three to one. The other rabbi in town, however, sees various positive indications of the Jewish population's identification with Judaism. He interprets, for example, many families' willingness to spend $700 a year on temple membership dues as a primary manifestation of these individuals' feelings of Jewish identity. He suggests, as well, that although people's homes may not be as Jewish as their parents were, (in the sense of keeping kosher), the people themselves may be more Jewish than their parents. He notes, for example, that he is working on his sixth adult bar mitzvah class, for adults who did not have a bar mitzvah as children.

This one rabbi believes that most of the children in his congregation have a very positive attitude towards Judaism. He notes that they openly discuss their religion with non-Jews within the classroom. They wear Jewish stars to school and do not experience any anti-semitic sentiment in their lives. He concludes that while Judaism is not very important to the children, they nonetheless feel comfortable with it.

On the other hand, all of the leaders note that tolerance towards, and incidence of, intermarriage between Jewish and non-Jewish young adults is rapidly increasing. Parents within the community appear to have no reservations regarding their children dating non-Jews. They generally feel that when the children go to college they as parents will have no control over whom they date, and they are therefore willing to accept the possibility that their children will intermarry. Intermarriage has recently been estimated at approximately 40% among Jews in the greater Boston area.

The primary source of Jewish affiliation for the Jewish youth in this study is religious school. Approximately 60-70% of Jewish children in Westville attend Hebrew School. Most of the children participate actively between third and seventh grade. After seventh grade most drop any form of active involvement in Jewish affairs. Youth groups exist in both temples but participation is very low.

Generally Jewish leaders in Westville feel that there is a weak sense of community among Jewish adults in the town. One rabbi says that within his temple during an entire year the only community functions are religious ones. No social events occur; his members do not use the synagogue as a central meeting place. The other rabbi senses that there is a growing feeling of community among Jews in Westville and suggests that two factors contribute to this. One is the development of the Jewish Federation in the town, an organization not affiliated with any temple that sponsors forums and programs for members of the Jewish community. In addition it provides social services to Jewish families. Other leaders note that primary support for the Jewish Federation comes from Jews not affiliated with a temple, and that this support has been fairly weak. The second positive sign is formal observance of Israel Independence Day. Two years ago the community celebrated this day on the town common for the first time, and hundreds of Westville people were involved. This rabbi sees improvement in the sense of interconnection among Jews living in the town, but he acknowledges that they have a long way to go before they can claim to have built a true religious community.

Jewish families also show little involvement in general town affairs. Leaders note a lack of concern about local politics among Jewish families. A substantial proportion of the Jewish families do not participate in local elections. Attempts are now being made to involve families in this area to a much greater extent.

2. General Characteristics of the Families Studied

The fifteen families that we studied were recruited from two of the synagogues, one Reform and one Conservative, the majority from the Reform synagogue. All of the adolescents were attending Hebrew School and were or would be Bar and Bat Mitzvah during the year we studied them. The study group does not include religiously Orthodox Jews, or less religious Jews not affiliated with a synagogue.

Although the adolescents were recruited from the same two synagogues, they are not all friends. Their homes are not in the same neighborhoods and they did not attend the same schools. Two middle schools are represented in the sample, as well as several non-overlapping circles of friendship. Three sets of girls are friends but these pairs do not associate with other friendship pairs, and two of the girls do not have a friend in the study. Two pairs of boys are friends but were studied together less frequently than the girls.

The adolescents in our sample are of varying popularity among the larger peer group, ranging from very popular within the seventh grade, to those who had few or no friends among their agemates. None of these youngsters are involved in drugs, cigarette smoking, or active sexual experiences. The sample may be non-representative in this respect, although we are not aware of a great number of peers of our group in Westville who engage in such behaviors at their present age.

The families of the adolescents are middle to upper middle class, living in their own homes on at least a quarter of an acre of land. All of the families are composed of a father, mother, and at least one child. One mother had been married previously and had a child by that marriage who lived with her and her current husband, who was the father of the seventh grader studied. Approximately one-third of the families come from New York and moved to Boston for work. All of the adolescents and their parents were born in the United States and a good number of the grandparents also were born in the United States; about one-third of the grandparents were born in Eastern Europe.

Our data indicate that the historical origins of all fifteen families lie in Eastern Europe. The adolescents' parents are second and third generation Americans. This is typical of the Jewish population of Westville and the United States in general. Jewish immigration to America occurred primarily between 1880 and 1920, most of it coming from

Eastern Europe. An earlier and smaller migration came from Western Europe. Most of the adults currently living in Westville grew up in large urban areas such as Boston and New York.

The families of the adolescents range from one child to five. Six families have three children, and five families have two. Of the fourteen youngsters with siblings, five (three female, two male) are the oldest child, four adolescents (two male, two female) are middle children, and five (three female, two male) are the youngest child. The mothers of the adolescents range in age from 36 to 43, the average being between 38 and 39. Few mothers work full-time, although twelve in all have full- or part-time jobs. In addition to homemaking, the mothers' jobs include teacher, librarian, researcher, businesswoman, secretary, receptionist, and bookkeeper. According to information from eleven adolescents, two mothers have graduate degrees, six finished college, and one each had some college, finished trade school, and finished high school.

The fathers of the adolescents range in age from 39 to 47 with the average being 40. All of the fathers work full-time in occupations such as engineering, medicine, dentistry, law, advertising, and business. Ten of the fifteen men work in some form of business, with some owning their own firms. Again, the adolescents report that three fathers have graduate degrees, one has some graduate school, five have finished college, and two have finished high school. Generally we find the composition and economic background of these households typical of the Jewish families in the Westville area.

C. Methodology

1. Obtaining Participants

Westville and Kelton, two adjacent suburbs with substantial Jewish populations close to the residence of the fieldworkers, were selected as possible communities from which to obtain participants for the study. The central school administrations in both were contacted to request cooperation in recruiting children and families. Both indicated that they were unwilling to help us identify and obtain Jewish participation.

Consequently, we decided to look for participants by contacting children enrolled in Jewish religious schools that meet after public school hours. We approached all three of the schools affiliated with temples in the two suburbs, ultimately obtaining the cooperation of the two located in Westville. From the religious schools we received volunteers attending three different middle schools in Westville. Originally we intended all particpants to be students at the same middle school, but this proved impossible to arrange. We settled on enrolling volunteers from two of the three middle schools.

2. Contacting the Religious Schools

We followed different procedures in contacting the three religious schools. The principal of the religious school in Kelton was first contacted by phone. He suggested that we write the rabbi of the temple, who in turn forwarded our request to the school board, composed of temple members. The President of the board, explaining its rejection of our request, listed the following problems:

1. By providing us with time to approach the children, the board would be seen as endorsing the project.
2. Participation in the project might lead to infringement of the privacy of participants.

41

3. Approaching students in the temple's classrooms would be similar to providing a list for purposes of solicitation, which the temple had a policy against doing.

Our inclination was to proceed informally again in contacting the second temple, but to proceed first through the rabbi, rather than the religious school principal. We were advised, however, to communicate with the temple initially by mail, informing them of our request and indicating that we would follow-up by phone. Consequently, we wrote to both the rabbi and the principal asking to speak to the Hebrew School classes about the study and to request the children's participation contingent upon their parents' approval. We also expressed a desire to observe the children within the School setting, after the study began.

A week later when we called the rabbi, he indicated that he had been left "cold" by the letter and that the principal also had serious reservations about becoming involved in the project. We suggested a direct meeting and he agreed. During this session we reached agreement on procedures for obtaining participation from the membership of the temple.

The rabbi felt that it had been a mistake for us to contact the temple by mail. A personal contact would have avoided obstacles that were unintentionally erected, and placed the entire matter on a personal level. He indicated that the religious school director had seen the proposed study primarily as an evaluation of religous school education. The rabbi and the director were both fairly new in this temple; both reacted to the letter with the feeling, "Who needs an outsider coming in to tell us what our problems are? This can only be a source of trouble."

After we talked and he saw our focus he felt able to support the project fully. Nonetheless, the religious school director had reacted so strongly to the letter that he felt it best not to involve her, proposing instead that we contact the children's parents' from lists that he would supply. He spoke informally to the temple president about doing it this way and discovered no impediments. In addition, the rabbi prepared a letter of introduction for us in which he expressed his support of the project. We sent out letters to approximately 25 parents of children attending two of the middle schools in Westville. The net result of this procedure was three participants.

We contacted the rabbi of the third temple by phone and set up a personal meeting with him. After talking with him about the study we suggested the procedure already worked out for use in the second temple. He felt that it was highly inefficient, and having no qualms about us speaking directly to the Hebrew classes, indicated that he would tell the religious school principal to give us fifteen minutes in each class to make a presentation. Apparently he felt sufficiently sure of his own authority, after serving as rabbi more than twenty years, not only to bypass the congregational board, but to direct the religious school principal to give us the time we needed. We made our presentations to the classes stressing that participants would assist in the preparation of a book about seventh graders. After they talked amongst themselves we received an overwhelming positive response to our request for volunteers. Twelve of the eventual participants in the project enrolled from these classes.

3. Contacting Parents

When we contacted the parents of the first Westville temple who had received a letter from us and the rabbi, the responses were predominantly negative. These refusals fall into two categories: those which were primarily the parent's, and those which were primarily the child's.

Some parents responded negatively because they saw the study as intruding into their or their children's lives. At least one parent felt that it would invade his child's privacy and suspected that we would ask questions which his child would not be able to handle or guard against; he saw it as his responsibility to protect his child. Others rejected involvement because they felt their children did not have the time to spare, in that they were preparing for their Bar Mitzvah and/or because they were poor students. By and large when a negative response originated with parents, the child was not given a chance to respond to the idea of the study. In the case of the parent who wanted to protect his daughter's privacy, one of the fieldworkers described the study at their house and the daughter expressed the desire to be in the study. The father's objections overrode his daughter's wishes.

Other negative reactions apparently originated among the children after their parents (usually the mother) told them about the study. On two occasions we talked to a child with the parent(s) present and afterwards received a negative response to participating in the study. Boys and girls responded negatively because they didn't like the idea of talking to a stranger; were reluctant to have a stranger hang around with them, particularly when they were with their friends; and felt that they did not have the time to spare. Those parents who did talk to their children about participating were essentially neutral about the youngsters' involvement. There were a couple of instances in which the parents seemed enthusiastic about the study but were unable to convince their children to participate. Three students contacted in this way agreed to participate in the study.

At the second temple in Westville we made presentations to the classes on two consecutive days. On the first day, we talked to two classes separately, at the beginning of two periods; on the second, we described the project to combined classes at the end of a period. The first day classes were supposed to be composed of better-functioning and better-behaved students then the classes we spoke to on the second day. In each class we emphasized that participants would have the opportunities to speak to adults through this research and to help with a book. The idea of a book seemed to strike a responsive chord among the children. Some of them seemed disappointed when we said that their real names would not be used in the published volume.

In the first class there were no immediate positive responses to the idea of participating. Some of the youngsters turned to their friends to discuss whether they were going to participate. During this "checking out" process the school principal, who sat in on this one presentation only, asked a few of the girls if they wanted to participate. Ultimately, about three-fourths of this class signed up to participate. In the second class the children again talked amongst themselves after our presentation. Eventually, 100% of the group volunteered to be included.

The process of checking whether friends were going to participate in the study seemed to have played a significant role in the children's decisions. When one of us spoke to one of the girls from the first temple she seemed perturbed by the possibility that we would want to accompany her and her friends, apparently fearing what her friends would think. Similarly, the other youngsters talked to from this temple wanted to know who else was participating in the study. We suspect that the teenagers were worried about appearing strange to their peers if they participated and perhaps also if they did not. Later we observed this as a general process in their lives. They rely on peer consensus validation for their own behavior; if their friends are doing something then it must be okay, but if they are the only ones doing it, there must be something strange about it.

On the second day we spoke to the combined class. This group in contrast to the quiet demeanor with which we were greeted and listened to in the first classes, was disruptive. The members seemed to half-listen and when they talked to their friends about the project they were far noisier than the first groups. One of the teachers in the room told several to quiet down. Generally we felt that we related better to the first classes than to this one. Seven volunteers emerged from this session. When we contacted the students who volunteered all of the girls and their parents agreed to participate in the study. Several of the boys or their parents did not wish to participate. One boy's mother did not want a stranger in the house because she was ill. A second parent saw the study requiring too much time for her son, who was not doing well in school and needed time to study more. Also, two of the boys changed their minds.

Generally, the procedure we used at the last temple worked best. By meeting the students first in a group, and then contacting the parents of those students who had expressed interest, we achieved several objectives.

1. We aroused students' interest in the study by communicating our own excitement and emphasizing how they might benefit from participating.
2. By making a group presentation and then allowing the students to discuss the proposal among themselves, encouraged the students to feel that participation was socially approved. Obviously, this could have backfired if the members of the group had decided that the project was not an "okay thing" but "something weird."
3. By making a personal presentation we enabled the students to see whom they were going to be interacting with. It is one thing to allow a known person to see and evaluate one's life, but quite another to permit a stranger one knows only by letter to do the same things.
4. Parents' resistance was probably minimized or overcome to the extent that the children themselves showed genuine interest in the study. In addition, approaching the children first

emphasized that they were the subjects of the study, not the family as a whole. This also probably lessened parental resistance.

5. Finally, we received the tacit endorsement of the rabbi and the synagogue by being allowed to speak to the children in the school classrooms.

4. Data Collection

We gathered data via a variety of means under different circumstances. With all of the adolescents we conducted at least one extended, semi-structured interview, and with many we conducted several such sessions. We formalized these interviews primarily to gain information and the youngsters' perceptions on particular topics. The questions asked varied from participant to participant and depended on the flow of discussion as well as the type of information we desired. In general, they focused on the adolescents' perceptions of schooling, their performance in school, their parents' involvement in their school work, their relationships with parents, siblings, and peers, their responsibilities within the home, and the distribution of power and influence within the home.

These interviews occurred while sitting together in the participant's home or on walks through the participant's neighborhood. Generally they flowed more easily while walking through the neighborhood. One of the adolescents said that he found it boring to just sit and talk, and we noticed that most of the younsters did not seem comfortable relating to us by sitting and talking.

Some of the interviews were tape-recorded. However, most of the adolescents seemed inhibited by taping. One participant seemed uncomfortable throughout a taped interview but indicated off and on during the process that he was fine. After the recorder was shut off and the interview continued, he indicated that he felt much better. He said he was worried about private topics being preserved on tape. As a result of such reactions to tape-recording and because of the difficulty of taping while walking outside most interviews were not tape-recorded. Notes from such sessions were written up within a day of their occurrence.

In addition to semi-structured interviews much information was gathered during informal conversations in the midst of other activities that we engaged in with the adolescents. With many of the boys these activities included playing ball, either tossing a baseball or playing basketball. Occasionally we played table or TV games wih the youngsters, and listed to music and watched television with them. We accompanied many of them to different shopping centers and shopping areas, strolled through the shopping center and entered many of the stores. On several occasions we purchased snacks for them and sat with them while eating ice cream or some other fast food.

Although the activity sometimes disrupted conversation, generally they seemed to facilitate informal discussions with the youths. As noted, the adolescents seemed uncomfortable in interview-like situations (i.e., sitting and talking). On the other hand, they appeared at ease while engaged in activities. In addition, many of the activities took place while the adolescent was with a friend. Conversations among friends were a valuable source of data from the adolescents.

Interaction between and among peers was an important source of the observational data collected in the study. Most of the peer interactions observed were dyadic; most involved the girls in the study. Six of the eight girls were seen with a friend who also participated in the study; two pairs of girls were seen together especially often. The other two were occasionally seen with each other, and one was also seen with a friend not in the study. Of the remaining two, one was observed several times at gymnastics practice. The other girl did not wish to include a friend in the study, stating that she felt they would be inhibited with an adult present. After several lengthly interviews, this girl dropped out of the study.

Four of the seven boys were also seen occasionally with friends who were participating in the study. One pair of friends appeared together on a couple of occasions, alone on others, and once with other friends. The other pair when seen together were with other friends who were not participants in the study. The other three boys in the study were also observed part of the time interacting with their peers.

Observation of peer interaction posed problems for the adult fieldworkers of how to fit into the young adolescents' world. The parent, who had observed one of us walking in the neighborhood with Tom (one of the sample) commented after we had enrolled her family that she had thought it was so nice that Tom was out walking and talking to an older non-relative. Her comment emphasizes that it is atypical for a young adolescent to be seen talking for an extended period with an adult, especially with an adult with whom he/she does not have some formal connection. To the extent that our role with the children was only that of an observer, an unfamiliar position, we found it difficult simply to blend into the situation.

Following an evening during which he spent time with one participant and his friends the fieldworker wrote:

> Kevin had forgotten about our meeting. When I drove down the street I passed him and his friends as they were riding their bikes... Kevin reacted surprisedly and I think disappointedly. He told his friends to wait and went down on his bike to his house to check the calendar...He checked the calendar and there it was; our appointment for that night. Feeling that this would be a good opportunity to observe Kevin with his friends, I asked if they had a spare bike and I would join him and his friends bike riding. They only had his younger brother's smaller three speed (all of the other youngsters had ten speeds).

> I felt a bit ridiculous at first on this small bike and became self-conscious and aware of how others might be judging this scene. I felt like an adult trying to fit in with a group of kids, looking ridiculous trying to do so. Undoubtedly this feeling was accented by being on this small bike, but the ridiculousness, as I imagined myself as one seeing me riding, of an adult peddling along on a small kid's bike trying to keep up with a bunch of young teenagers on ten speeds seemed to accent my inability to fit in with these kids.
>
> A question that can be looked at more fully in the context of the whole research is the place of adults in the world of young adolescents. How does an adult affect the definition of the situation?

What is recognized in these notes is that while adults are often present in a young adolescent's world, their presence redefines the situation. Adults often appear as parents, relatives, teachers, or coaches, but they are not often present in unstructured peer interactions. For example, for an adult to go shopping with a young adolescent is not an unusual event, yet we accompanied these youths to various shopping centers. Our presence obviously affected how the adolescents acted and how others reacted to them. When one of us was in a store with two of the girls the shopkeeper immediately approached the researcher rather than the girls and asked what she could do for her. She was considerably surprised when the researcher responded that she was not the customer, the girls were. One toy store had a clear sign that children (which included these adolescents) unaccompanied by an adult were not permitted in the store. In most stores a young adolescent when alone or with peers is probably not defined as a customer, and probably is defined as a nuisance. Some of the youngsters complained that when they are alone or with friends in stores they are given messages, subtle or not so, to leave if they are not going to buy something immediately. Our presence altered these interactions and thus they were not available to us for observation.

Our presence also influenced the nature of peer interaction. The following notes from a meeting with Paul and his friends depict some of the difficulties of doing field observations of young adolescents' interaction with peers:

> [Before leaving his house at the meeting previous to this observation] Paul indicated he was a little worried about getting together on Friday. He wondered if we would be just sitting around staring at each other. He was obviously a little up tight about it and I said that it was not necessary for us to get together with all of his friends if he wasn't comfortable with the idea. But he wanted to do it, but he was worried how it was going to turn out.
>
> In the previous meeting we talked about having his friends come over, but he wanted to have a sense of what I would want. What types of questions might I be interested in having answered so that they could talk about that...I said that I wanted him to act normally and talk how they normally talked. So, on Friday when they got together, if there was any lull in the conversation Paul would say 'Come on guys, keep talking.' He was very conscious about wanting to have it go the way that I would see their lives and so meet my expectations. He asked if this is what I expected. There was always a constant monitoring and checking such that I couldn't blend into the woodwork easily.
>
> We started off in the kitchen sitting around the table eating donuts, and then moved into the rec room sitting around talking. I got the distinct impression that this was not a typical get-together, but rather more of a staged affair for my benefit...I'm not sure if the stories they were telling each other might have been for my benefit, though there was no sense of them talking to me. They were talking among themselves and allowing me to see their interactions.

The most fundamental question which arises here concerns the extent to which we had access to the real worlds of these adolescents. Some of what was observed here was to some extent staged. Paul wanted to meet the researcher's expectations and thus encouraged his buddies to keep talking, for example. At the next meeting Paul was asked how typical the previous get-togehter with his friend was. Paul replied:

> It had been in the sense that was how their talks often started off. But it had been different in that the talk was much more on the surface. Usually the talks get 'deeper.' I asked what he meant by 'deeper' and he replied that he was referring to 'personal feelings.' He also indicated that their talks centered on concerns...On Saturday nights these deeper talks would go on later at night when everything was quiet and they were lying in sleeping bags together on the floor. He felt, he said, hesitant to tell me much detail of what they talked about. It was difficult

> to talk about what these 'deeper talks' were about since they were so private. He felt he could only share these with his friends, so how could he tell me about it? Primarily, he said, these talks focused on girls and their relationships with and feelings about girls.

In our discussions with the adolescents we never accessed much of their perceptions and feelings regarding their emerging sexuality or their feelings about members of the opposite sex. We felt we gained a much greater depth of information from some of them concerning relationships with their parents and with same-set peers.

As noted, our presence with Paul and his friends to some extent inhibited the normal flow of conversation among them. Because they felt they would be inhibited, in general our subjects limited our entry into certain situations. Several indicated, for example, that they would not want us to join them at the lunch tables at school. Paul indicated that "it would be really strange and disrupt things too much for [the fieldworker] to sit at the table." When the researcher suggested that he would like to accompany Paul and Lee, a second participant, home from school Paul persisted that he would "find this disruptive, too, since they often walk home with other friends." On the other hand, the researcher had much greater access to neighborhood interactions involving Kevin, Tom and Tom's friends.

Although our presence did inhibit the flow of conversation, we gained more insights from listening to these conversations than through the interviewing. One of us noted that a particular girl always seemed to be trying to please her during their conversations, and she was never sure if she was gathering the girl's real perceptions and experiences or a set of impressions the girl wished to convey. On the other hand, a child's interactions with his/her peers were also at times designed to produce certain impressions among the peer group. There is, thus, no guarantee that the data collected observing peer interactions are more reliable than those collected through interviewing. For example, one of the girls, Debra, frequently expressed a lack of interest in school and a lack of concern about grades. In listening to Ellen talk to Debra, however, we gained the impression that Ellen is also an average student who cares little about school or her grades. Yet later, when we looked at Ellen's grades, we realized that she is an A and B student who probably cared a good deal more about her performance than she reveals when talking to Debra.

In addition to participant observation of the peer interaction on several occasions we attempted to observe the adolescents in various settings as a non-participant observer. We were never able to get permission to observe the adolescents in the public schools, but we did watch them in out-of-school activities such as gymnastics, horseback riding lessons, soccer practice, a baseball game, a play rehearsal, a performance of a school play, and at several Bar and Bat Mitzvahs. In the last instances (the Bar and Bat Mitzvahs) we participated as adults, but we were able to observe the adolescents as non-participants in their activities.

In some of these settings, Bat Mitzvah party and a baseball game, for example, the adolescents' parents served as informants and commentators on what we were observing. At the play rehearsal one of the participants occasionally came over to comment on what was happening during the rehearsal. At the riding lesson the participant's sister provided commentary on what was happening. In these instances we feel we gained a great deal of data regarding the adolescent's world and his/her interactions in it as they naturally occur. We feel that our presence was unobtrusive in each case.

But in two instances in which we attempted to observe as non-participants we felt that our presence was obtrusive. On one occasion one of us observed Lee at soccer practice:

> During the whole time I was there Lee remained fairly aloof from me. When they headed towards the water faucet I walked over and said, 'Hi! How are things going?' He mumbled, 'Hi,' back and said that he had been home all day because he wasn't feeling well, but decided to come to practice. He then without saying anything further went off with the other guys to where a couple of girls were standing...Lee's attitude left me wondering if he resented my presence.

In this situation the observer's presence did not inhibit interaction among Lee and his peers. Rather, it was experienced by Lee as an intrusion, even though he had earlier indicated that the outsider's presence would be acceptable to him. In a sense, the researcher was virtually unobtrusive because Lee, for the most part, ignored him. The researcher, not Lee, initiated interaction that day and Lee quickly terminated it. On the other hand, the researcher was left feeling that his presence was unwelcome, and subsequently he self-restricted observation of certain situations because he felt that they would be experienced by Lee as an intrusion. Thus, when Lee and his friends joined the girls, the observer deliberately hung back and failed to learn what happened here. He did not want to give the impression of "snooping."

On another occasion, non-participantly observing Alice's gymnastics practice, the fieldworker became aware that Alice sometimes experienced her as "spying on her." She wrote:

> Overall I'm not certain if I should stick to her or let her go about her business. If I don't stick to her I don't pick up on conversations, but if I do I become a liability and a strange person tagging after her. At one point I stood outside the locker room listening, but I wasn't sure if Alice liked that less than when I sat in with her, because maybe she felt I was spying.

As a non-participant observer in situations like these we were often uncomfortable "shadowing" the participants. But this limited the type of data we collected. Again from our notes:

> I cannot really pick up on what the kids are talking about, so I asked Alice to try to remember...I get a good feel for this place as a place in Alice's life this way; but not necessarily how she relates to people there...There is a strong sense that I can in no way simply slide into being a part of her life in any comfortable way. I can't be a peer or a kid. I have no understandable role here and it is problematic for me and for her...Alice was extraordinarily preoccupied with my presence. She inappropriately introduced me to people who were flying by and did not intend to stop. She looked over to me a lot and probably was somewhat inhibited around me. She felt, I think, obliged to be with me when she wasn't practicing.

This is the same problem noted earlier in regard to bike riding with the boys. We discovered in this work that it is difficult to enter comfortably and easily into a teenager's world as an adult lacking a particular role within that milieu. We suspect that a teacher, coach, or relative has greater access to certain parts of a youngster's world, in which they fit and belong comfortably, than we did as adults without formal status in any of the children's lives.

In addition to trying to become a part of the adolescents' worlds, we sought to understand each family through observing normal, everyday interactions among the parents and their children. Here again we met with limited success. Many of the adults appeared to proceed with their normal routines, and a few entered into conversation with us while we were in the house. But by and large we were defined as being with their child and therefore ignored in the same way that a friend of a child would be ignored. In one house the fieldworker noted: "When his mom came home we went upstairs to the den. There was an understanding that since she wanted to do stuff downstairs, it would be better that we go upstairs, creating a zone in the house: you stay there and I can go about my business elsewhere." We were often in a different part of a house, with the subject, rather than the other members of the household. Our presence therefore limited to some extent normal family interaction with the adolescent. However, on a number of occasions in several homes we were able to observe family members interacting with the adolescent or with each other.

As noted, most of the parents appeared unaffected by our presence in the home except as it disrupted normal interaction with their child. At least one parent, however, did feel awkward having us in the home. Early in the study Alice's mother indicated that she felt uncomfortable with another adult in the house. She said she felt "restricted." The fieldworker wrote, "I keep telling her to do whatever you normally do, but I think that she feels that she can't be around us or something like that." At that time, she indicated that she wanted Alice to participate in the study for only a month and a half. However, Alice remained in the study over three months and her mother became increasingly comfortable with the researcher's presence. Two months after the note quoted above was written, the observer reported:

> Alice's mother, leaving to go shopping, says that it is still early, only 5:15, and maybe she would see me when she got back. I was getting ready to leave but as she said this I decided to stay longer. It is not often that she is so relaxed; and when she did get back she and I talked, with Alice present.

We developed relationships with many of the mothers, but with only two of the fathers similar to this. We had conversations with them while their child was present as well as when he/she was not present. Some of the data reported in this ethnography comes from these conversations.

Within the ethnography we integrate where appropriate our data on parents' and adolescents' perceptions. Throughout the report we indicate whose perception or observation we are reporting. We feel we attain a more coherent presentation by topically integrating these sources of data, since each perspective seems to provide partial insight on the total picture.

We began the study hoping to be able to articulate and present the adolescent's experience of his/her world. The expressed purpose of the ethnographic component from the beginning was to describe the adolescent's world from the youngster's perspective, rather than from our own or parental viewpoint, but in this report we integrate data from our observations and from statements by parents with those gained from the adolescents. The ethnography, therefore, diverges from the original plan of presenting a phenomenological study of the adolescent's world. We learned through doing the fieldwork that the teenager's experience of what is happening in his/her life provides only a limited, although important, understanding of what actually is occurring. We concluded, therefore, that a fuller understanding requires utilization and integration of data from various sources.

In addition, we recognized our limitations at understanding the flow of events as they are experienced by a teenager. We describe, in the discussion of our data collection procedures our felt status as outsiders (i.e., adult) in the adolescent's world. This realization was most poignant when we sought to understand the self-consciousness the youngsters experienced in their relationships with peers and especially with members of the opposite sex. We cannot convincingly depict the vantage points from which the adolescent experience, especially these aspects of his/her world.

One of us very profoundly recognized her inability to comprehend fully an adolescent's experience, after talking with one of the girls about her upcoming Bat Mitzvah:

> She is worried about dancing with her peers in front of her parents. What if the leader calls a champagne dance? That's a dance when champagne is yelled you have to kiss. I asked if she is having a band. She replied, 'Yes.' I noted, 'Then he will probably run it and just won't call such dances because they all do it the same way.' 'But what about dancing close?' she worried. I said, 'Don't worry. Your mother is probably looking forward to seeing you grow up and it will be a joy for them.' Clearly that was the wrong thing to say. 'You're not making me feel better,' she said. I simply couldn't see it from her side, but rather only from her parents' side, and I tried to give her a perspective on their experience. Clearly she is worried about feeling like herself and comfortable in front of all those adults. She kept thinking about having adults have a direct view of the peer culture in action...She is concerned about her parents seeing her thus and the patronization is embarrassing. She does not understand it as joy or love, but only as vulnerability and exposure in her growing state, having not yet matured and still being awkward.

When the girl mentions the embarrassment she anticipates feeling from her parents seeing her interact "normally" with her peers, the fieldworker indicates that she can understand her parents' perspective better than the adolescent's. She emerges with an "understanding" of the girl's feelings, but it is an intellectual understanding rather than experiential one. She suggests that the girl feels vulnerable because of her uncertainty about relationships with members of the opposite sex. But knowing why she feels vulnerable is not the same as being able to empathize with that vulnerability. We suspect that our understanding of the adolescents' experiences can only be partial.

Throughout this section we have tried to provide a sense of the forms of data that we collected and the limitations of these data sources. We recognize as major problems of this ethnography our inability to become authentic members of the adolescents' world and to understand the frame of reference from their perspective. Although the work is thus limited, through using many data sources we have been able to describe many of the adolescents' perceptions and activities associated with their home life. We do not speak as persons who have lived and experienced the life of the seventh graders from within that sphere. But by using data from siblings, parents, peers, and the adolescents themselves, and our own observations, we have been able to describe that world more completely than any one data source alone would have permitted.

D. Relationships

In this section we examine Jewish seventh graders' family relationships. We both discussed this topic with the adolescents and observed them interacting with parents, siblings, and extended family members. But we came to recognize that in addition to various dyadic relationships, each adolescent has a relationship to the family as a group. The adolescent participates in and experiences a group or family life, within which the various dyadic relationships are imbedded, and feel a part of the family as a whole in addition to his/her involvement with particular family members. Thus this chapter will address both the nature of the adolescent's experience of family life and the youth's relationships with parents.

1. Family Life

In seeking to understand the family lives of these youngsters we gravitated towards two of the Home Climate variables as fundamentally important: Involvement and Cohesiveness. The concept of Involvement includes the ways the family members as a group engage in activities together, simultaneously or independently in support of the group's goal or project. Cohesiveness refers to "the family feeling" or a feeling of togetherness in the family. We recognize that individuals are often formally classified as fellow family members, and that in certain circumstances they may feel more "like a family" than at other times.

By collecting the adolescents' responses to the open-ended probe, "I feel most like a family when ...," we tried to access the conditions under which they experience this family feeling, and from their responses we begin to understand the relationship between involvement and cohesiveness. We also begin to understand the family lives of these youngsters.

The adolescents' responses to the stem fall into three main categories: eating together, usually dinner; watching television together; and going on day or vacation outings together. All three of these situations are times of relaxation. Thus the feeling of being a family is most often experienced when the family is relaxing together. The adolescents' detailed descriptions of these times reveal other aspects of family activities that contribute to the enhancement of family feeling.

In speaking of outings, in particular, the adolescents tell us:

Alice: We are most like a family when hiking every summer. This is a family time because there is no one else to talk to, and so we have to be with each other and no one is working. So we feel most together.

Ellen: When we're all crumpled up in the little car to go to my grandmother's house or something. When we celebrate my birthday together.
(What about when you go to the cottage?)
Sometimes my brother doesn't come.
(Well, do you only feel like a family if your brother's there?)
Well, isn't he part of my family?

Debra: Yah, like it feels more like a family if my older sister is there.

Fay: When we are skiing. [She showed me a picture of the cabin they always rent in the winter. They sleep all in one room. She said that they don't find it cramped but very nice with everyone together.] We sit all around in the cabin and it is cozy eating marshmallows and telling stories and things like that.

In these descriptions family feeling seems to be associated with the presence of the complete nuclear family. In the adolescents' descriptions of television watching and dinner they also associate the family feeling with the presence of all of the members of the nuclear household. If

Ellen's brother does not come to the cottage then she does not experience it as a family feeling. Alice notes that "No one is working." In her life she often eats before or after the other family members and her dad comes home late from work. It is only during the family vacations that all of the family members are consistently present with one another. For the feeling of family togetherness to be maximized, the entire group must be together.

The only adolescent who does not associate the nuclear family with family feeling is an only child, Paul. The description of Paul's feelings in our field notes reads as follows:

> Regarding his own immediate family, he said that he felt perhaps the question would have more meaning for a large family. They are a pretty compact group. There are just the three of them. I gained the impression that he doesn't really gain the sense of family from his own immediate family, that they are too small. He speaks of holidays as times of family feelings when his grandparents, aunts, and cousins are also present. Nevertheless they do have a sense of togetherness in the nuclear family.

For Paul, nuclear family members provide a sense of cohesiveness but does not feel like family to him. For family feeling, Paul requires the presence of cousins and other extended kin. In speaking of his relationships with his cousins Paul notes that:

> [This primarily applies to his mom's family, since his dad's family doesn't tend to gather together with them for family events. He said he is particularly close to his cousins, his mother's sister's children...and this aunt.]
>
> Her sister has two daughters and I am really close with them. One of them I was sort of brought up with, and the other was sort of brought up with me. Like I've known them all my life.
> (What do you mean brought up with?)
> Well, like my older cousin she was always around and I would be the baby until she has always been around. Then my little cousin was born like 1968 and I was always there.
> (So they have always been a part of your life?)
> Ya.

[The mother talks to the aunt every day and that family came to Paul's special performances, in addition to the more or less weekly time spent together.]

Paul has spent so much time with his cousins that he feels that they were "brought up together." Thus in a way these cousins are like Paul's siblings. It is thus not surprising that he associates extended family contacts, rather than the presence of only nuclear household members, with family feeling for part of his family is not present when he is with his parents alone.

Two other adolescents feel that times with extended family are also times of family feeling. From the field notes:

Lee: [I asked him when they feel most like family. He said that it's at holiday time. At holidays no one else is there but family and extended, and they are all together.]

Kevin: [I asked Kevin when he feels most like a family. He felt unable to answer that. We talked about some of the family's activities together. He told me that they frequently get together with extended family, particularly his mother's relatives. At Chanukah time fifty of his mom's relatives get together to celebrate and exchange gifts. Kevin especially enjoys these get-togethers.]

Paul and Kevin also point to the importance of everyone being present for family feeling to emerge. When the extended family is involved, all the nuclear family members must be present, plus those extended kin with whom the adolescent has the most contact. In Kevin's and Paul's families these are mainly the mother's relatives who live nearby.

In indicating that all family members should be present, the adolescents also emphasize that "No one else is there but family." Ellen speaks of being "all crumpled up in the little car." Alice notes, "There is no one else to talk to." Fay describes the nights as "cozy" when the family is inside the cabin and away from others. As with

63

television-watching and dinner situations, not only is the family all present, but also no one else but the family is present. In its isolation the family is experienced as a single cohesive unit; part of family feeling involves this insular quality. Yet the feeling of cohesiveness is not an automatic result of gathering the family members together in one place away from all others.

Alice tells us that on the hiking trips, "This is a family time because there is no one else to talk to and so we have to be with each other." Fay speaks of "eating marshmallows and telling stories." Alice and Fay suggest that the family feeling is related to the way the family members relate to each other during the family activity. The nature of this relating is suggested in the adolescents' descriptions of dinner time. They state:

Tom: We feel most like a family at dinner, when everyone talks about their day. But then Mom and Dad do most of the talking about Dad's office.

Steve: (Do you feel like a family at dinner time?) Most of the time. But a lot of the time at least one of us is not there. Most of the time I would say not: some of the time we will have little arguments at the table.

Debra: When we go out for dinner.

Fay: [At dinner, they joke and share the events of the day. All the family members share what happened in the day.]

Carol: We sit down to the dinner table and afterwards we just sit there for like fifteen minutes telling jokes and stuff. We talk about what happens in the day, and some things you thought were funny or you thought were cute or sad or neat.

The adolescents most often associated sitting and talking at dinner time with the feeling of being a family. Steve notes that family feeling is associated with dinner time when all family members are present, as in the case of outings. The adolescents also describe dinner as a time when all members can be present and share with one another the happenings of their day. Fay and Carol tell how during dinner they joke or tell "some things you thought were funny...cute or sad or neat." The youngsters emphasize the importance of everyone sharing and listening during this time.

Tom implies that when "Mom and Dad do most of the talking" this takes away from the family feeling. Fay and her brother told their parents not to talk about the father's work at the table because they couldn't understand the conversation. After this, the parents avoided this topic. Fay and Tom also suggest that when two members of the family dominate the dinner talk, family feeling is disrupted. Alice, who did not name dinner as a time of feeling like a family, spoke of dinner in this way:

> (How about at dinner, do you feel like a family then?)
> At dinner they all sit around and Dad talks to my brother about the news and I don't care so I tune him out.

Alice perceives that only her father and brother interact during dinner, and is not interested in their topic of conversation, and "tune(s) him out." She is effectively absent for the dinner experience. Alice and others suggest that family feeling depends on all members interacting with and paying attention to each other. A strong dyadic relationship between the parents or between a parent and one child may interfere with its occurrence. The youngsters suggest that only when all members feel they are contributing to dinner conversation will family feeling emerge. Telling of events of the day, relating stories, and sharing jokes are ways for each individual to engage in conversation. Stories and jokes transcend individual areas of interest which might not be shared, and are easier to understand than discussions of work, for example. Stories and jokes also allow for members of different ages, different cognitive abilities, and different knowledge bases to participate in the flow of conversation.

In Steve's discussion of dinner time he points to another kind of disruption of family feeling. Steve starts by saying that dinner is a time that feels like family, but immediately adds, "we will have little arguments at the table." Steve suggests that the arguments detract from family feeling and cohesiveness. Beth in describing her family dinners also sees arguments as disruptive:

> [At the table they talk about what they did that day and what they are going to do tomorrow. She immediately went into talking about the bickering and fighting that goes on at the table. She gives an example of when one brother told a story that the father and other brother thought was silly and how they ridiculed the brother. I asked Beth if she gets herself in that kind of position. She said not for a long time. She tries not to do that because she doesn't like them to laugh at her.]

After describing part of his day Beth's brother was belittled by the father and another brother. Beth tells how she avoids similar embarrassments by monitoring the kinds of things she shares about herself at the table and by remaining outside of the ridiculing. Beth thus limits her involvement in dinner time conversation. Even though she experiences some cohesiveness during dinner, she implies that the bickering undermines family feeling. Steve's and Beth's comments both suggest that ridicule and arguments implicitly ostracise one family member and make other group members uncomfortable, thus undermining the family's sense of cohesiveness.

In speaking of factors which adolescents associate with the feelings of cohesiveness in a family we have identified several aspects: the presence of all family members, the absence of all except the family members, and the manner in which family members relate to each other during the family's time together. Implicit in the situations the adolescents identify as family time, in the joking talk and the preferred lack of conflict is another characteristic of family feeling: it is pleasant and enjoyable. The whole association of family time and leisure implies that family time is to be enjoyed by all. Camping, skiing, day outings, dinner without conflict, sharing jokes are all potentially enjoyable ways for members to be involved with one another. But like the preferred manner of relating during family time, the group's activity itself must be enjoyed by all members for it to be seen as contributing to family feeling. At the very least it must be enjoyed by the adolescent. Alice and Kevin, in speaking of family outings that are enjoyed by their parents but not themselves, point to this important factor. After discussing a recent family outing with Alice, the observer wrote:

> I asked Alice whether she felt like a family when she went to the Marathon each year. She said, "Well, yah," but not enthusiastically. She said that the first time it was really good and fun and the second and third time also. But now it was boring and the guys yell at you if you don't get them the water they want and it is not too great. This is in contrast to Alice's mother's description of "What a nice fun time" they had together and how she likes to maintain this nice tradition.

Alice's mother was very excited describing this family outing and how all of them had such a good time. But Alice is unenthusiastic. She does not really associate going to the Marathon with the family feeling she got when they went hiking. Similarly, all of the members of Kevin's family attend all of the baseball games of each sibling. The parents think of this as a positive family experience. But in describing his reaction to going to his brother's games Kevin states:

> I asked Kevin later if he went to all of his brother's games. He said most of them, his mom makes him. I said, "Don't you like going to his games?" He said, "No, they are pretty boring. I just sit there doing nothing but being bored the

> whole time." I asked why he had to go. He said that his mom says that his brother comes to all his games "so I have to got to all of my brothers'." But they take him along because they have no one to leave him with. I asked him what he would rather be doing. He said he'd rather stay home and watch TV. Later I asked him if he was just as bored at his brother's hockey games. He said no, the games were okay, and besides he could buy snacks there.

Unlike his parents, Kevin is bored at this family activity and so does not experience it as contributing to family cohesiveness. The hockey game, on the other hand, which he does enjoy makes for a better family time for him. Even though descriptions of Kevin at his brother Mike's games suggest that he does enjoy the event, unless Kevin himself consciously experiences them as pleasant he will not derive a sense of family feeling from attending.

All of the parents of the adolescents tried to structure some time into their schedules so that all members could be together regularly, in one way or another, as a family. Often these structured times are outings that the adults enjoy. Yet the adolescents may see these outings as burdens, something that "my mom makes me do," if the activity _per se_ is not enjoyed by the youngster himself/herself. These adolescents are telling us that for good family feeling to emerge, the activity must be enjoyable for all members. Talking and telling jokes, skiing, and camping are all things that the adolescent usually can participate in enthusiastically. But if the adolescent feels excluded from the talk or does not enjoy the activity, he or she stands outside the group experience, even though physically present as it occurs, and thus does not experience the cohesiveness of family feeling. For these reasons watching television may be seen as an important vehicle for building family feeling.

In discussing feeling like a family and television-watching, the adolescents state:

Debra: We feel like a family when we're just sitting and talking. Sometimes when my sister comes home from school, like she's too tired after she made the trip to go anywhere that night, and we're all just sitting watching TV or something. I mean a stereotypic family, we're all sitting their playing Scrabble or something.

Lee: [He feels like a family when sitting in front of the television on Sunday nights watching the movie on HBO. He said that he enjoys sharing what is happening and that it makes it more memorable. Sometimes they get ice cream to eat and they all eat it together as they are watching the movie.]

Ellen: [After she did her homework she said she was going downstairs to watch TV. Ellen said that usually on an evening she watches TV, too, and it seems like something that they do together. When we went downstairs later the father was sprawled out on the floor in front of the TV watching and the mother and brother had been too.]

Fay: [Fay said that every night at 8-9 p.m. the family watches TV together and they watch the same show every week and then her brother and she get ready for bed. When reruns are on the family all play table games together during this time.]

In their descriptions the adolescents link television-watching as a family to the playing of table games together. Family time television-watching involves "sharing what is happening," whether it is the response to the show or reactions to the table game. Some talk between family members is likely. One fieldworker spent an evening with Fay and participated in their one hour family time. During this time they usually watch TV as a family, but as it was the rerun season they played a table game instead. Much of the talk during this hour was about the progress of the game. In addition, the children shared events of their day with the adults and each other throughout the game. Similarly, in Ellen's home all members watched and also walked in and out of the room talking about various upcoming family events or the television show. In this way, the table game or television show becomes both a shared experience for family members and a vehicle for general interaction about family and individual members' experiences. Like much dinner table talk, a show or game, particularly one selected by the children as the case in Fay's house, may be understood by and appreciated by all family members. When family members enjoy the show or game and participate in the interactions surrounding it, we again see the insular family group associated by the adolescents with family feeling.

But simply placing all the family members in a room in front of the television does not insure family feeling. Jack describes Sunday in his home in the following way:

> I asked Jack what they do on Sundays. He said not much, since everything is closed. He said they just lie around, not doing much of anything together. Mostly they just watch TV. Sometimes they light a fire and watch TV. They used to play games like Monopoly but not anymore. Clearly it seems even though the whole family is present together on Sundays, Jack does not experience them as together. They are not doing things together like his friend who goes skiing and camping, a fact which Jack often mentions.

Jack says that the family "just lies around, not doing much of anything together...and watch TV." Even Jack does not experience this as a family time with family feeling. Apparently he does not feel involved in the television-watching, in looking at the fire or in interacting with family members. This attitude contrasts with Lee's (above), who says that talking about the show as a shared experience "makes it more memorable." Jack wishes for a more active family activity like skiing or camping, and does not experience television-watching as a group activity probably because family members do not interact with one another.

One of the fieldworkers witnessed the following scene at a girl's house:

> When I came to the house the mother was sitting in the big arm chair and one daughter was on each couch. All three were watching TV. The older sister was out and the father was

> working upstairs. The two girls sat unmovingly in front of the television watching blankly, not even changing their expressions when they went from watching a situation comedy to a news show. The family members did not talk to one another about the show.

Although the family members may have been inhibited by the observer's presence they still exemplify how television can function as an isolating, rather than an integrating experience. If each member is so engrossed or mesmerized by the machine that he/she is annoyed by any other's talking, and also does not initiate interaction with the rest, there is no basis for a group experience; one is no more linked with one's family members than one is with fellow viewers in a movie house.

Our analysis of these adolescents' conversations with us lead us to conclude that under certain conditions the youngsters feel a sense of family with special activity. They associate this feeling with certain kinds of involvement with other family members as a group. When the family is involved in an activity in which all members are present and all outsiders are absent; when the members engage in some activity that is enjoyed by all of them; and when the members interact with one another and attend to one another during the activity, the adolescents experience family feeling. The activities that most often fulfill these requirements are leisure involvements such as vacations, day outings, dinner conversations, television watching, and table games. The special association of leisure activities with family feeling may be rooted in the fact it is easiest for all family members to be simultaneously present for recreational activities, many of which members of different ages can understand and enjoy, each in his/her own way. Thus, leisure activities provide a shared experience around which family members can talk. The daily life of individuals, as well as jokes, are also content areas that all family members can comprehend and thus good vehicles for promoting family feeling.

Leisure situations are thus the main life situations in which these adolescents experience feeling like a family. Besides the characteristics already specified, we observe that these recreational events are clearly bounded by time. Vacations and day outings have beginnings and endings, as do television shows, table games, and dinner time. The adolescents "feel family" within these time-bounded activities. Yet can discern other family involvements not so clearly bounded by time which also occasion the appearance of family feeling.

Some of the families have family projects. These are continuing activities in which all members are engaged and constitute part of the way they are involved with one another. Good examples are the family gardens which two families maintain. In looking at these two examples we see a clear difference between the experiences of two adolescents.

Fay: [They are having a garden tilled and there was going to be one day next week on which they all would get out and plant the garden. Fay couldn't be there and she was upset because she had to do something else, so somehow they were going to change the date to accomodate her. She really wanted to be in on this family event.

Ron: I asked about what he did on the weekends and he started telling me about how he had to take care of the garden this past weekend. He said every year he, his brother and mom resolve that they are not going to have a garden. But every year his dad insists on putting one in, and even though he and his brother won't budge and say they don't want one his mom goes along with his dad. He said that he does most of the work on the garden and that brother doesn't have to do much. He said that his dad has some illness which, although not serious, prevents him from working in the garden so he just continuously tells Ron what to do.

Fay is very much involved in the creation of her family's garden. She had been involved in planning it with family members, and now is disturbed by the prospect of not being able to do the planting. Later in the summer she showed the garden to one of the researchers and explained what was planted. Fay sees the garden as a family event; as a member involved with this garden, she does not want to be excluded from any of the activity. In this case all members were involved in the garden's inception, planting, weeding, and final eating. As a project that takes place over time it allows for periodic group involvement and it supplies topics of conversation among family members. We can see it pulling family members together and fostering cohesiveness.

Ron, on the other hand, does not derive cohesiveness from his family's project. He and several other family members do not wish to have a garden. The family is not involved in this as a group and Ron sees himself as carrying the burden of work. He perceives his father as the task master, not as someone sharing a group project with him. The parent is trying to induce the child to work at a project that is distasteful to him, the child resents the parent and the cohesiveness of the family unit is undermined. The garden becomes a topic of discussion among family members only insofar as the parent nags his son to do the garden work.

In comparing these two family experiences, we become aware of the importance of all group members being involved for a family project to promote family feeling. In addition, all members must actively enjoy the project. We speculate that these two factors are mutually determined: the project is perceived as enjoyable because all the members are participating as well as the reverse. Work on the garden is perceived by Fay as a way of participating in overall family life and thus as a valuable experience. She does not have to be dragged into it as does Ron.

However, the garden in Ron's family is not a total loss: it is his father's project in which he enlists the help of family members. One way the family members become involved with one another is to become incorporated into each other's individual projects. But the project of an individual family member may also be adopted by all of the family members and so become a family project fostering cohesiveness. Activities in Fay's, Heidi's, and Ron's families exemplify how this may happen.

In Fay's family they are "all on the Scarsdale diet." Fay recognizes that her mother desires to lose weight, for when asked what she'd like to change in her mother, she said the she'd like her to be able to lose weight because this is so important to her. The mother's weight loss project has not remained an individual project. Rather, the brother is also on the diet in order to lose twenty pounds. Fay and her father are thin, but on the diet too, because they feel they have to watch what they eat because they are potentially fat. Thus, all family members take on the mother's project and incorporate it into their own lives. As a result, the diet and food and eating are a shared experience for the family, and weight loss and watching a shared family project.

Similarly, in Heidi's family one of the children became interested in horses. The parents bought horses so that the children could become involved in their sport. Of the five children, all four girls ride regularly. At the time of the study, three of the girls were taking lessons from the same teacher and also helping each other to learn. The parents said they like horses but bought them for the children who are responsible for their upkeep. Over time the father became a rider and now gives the girls feedback as to how they are doing during practice. He also became knowledgeable about the care and problems of horses, so that when a horse was sick, Heidi went to him to show him and ask him about it. Finally the mother began to take lessons from her daughter. It was not an unusual scene at this house for the whole family to be out in the field riding and watching each other ride. Certainly this topic permeated family gatherings and discussions. What began as one child's enthusiasm became incorporated into siblings' and parents' lives and a full-fledged family project or interest.

Finally, in Ron's family the family business is a central family activity. In this home dinner is usually the time when the business is discussed, but this is not problemmatic for Ron. Unlike the other adolescents, Ron sees himself as very involved in the business. Each time in the fieldworker's meetings with him he talked about the business. He does specific jobs in the business for his parents, and he is aware of influencing situations and decisions related to it. Once on a walk he saw a new, related business opening nearby and wrote down the location to tell his parents about the potential competition. Whether with his parents or not he does things for and thinks about the business. It was a family business, involving both mother and father, but Ron always speaks of it as "our business" and used words such as "we" in describing decisions made concerning it. We see that Ron experiences himself as a member of the business and as a participant in that aspect of his parents' lives. All the tasks that Ron performs for the business are individual, not group tasks. But through this individual work, Ron is bound into the life of the family.

This example in Ron's life stands in contrast to his experience of the garden. Ron wants to be a part of the business, but not a part of the garden. Ron in the garden is the only member who actually does the work. All family members are committed to the development of the business, but only Ron's father is really interested in the garden. For Ron, participating in the business is analogous to Fay's participation in the garden. Each is enjoying making contributions.

The idea of family life implies that each family may be seen as having a particular life of its own: interests and activities that all or most of the members participation in. We have identified "family times" and "family projects." Family times refer to group activities bounded in time in which all family members participate in a shared activity. Family projects refer to families' continuing interests or activities that all members participate in as a group or individually. Each member's separate project may be seen as connected to the larger family interest area. The common interests of family members serve to facilitate communication during dinner, providing a shared topic of interest, and serve to reinforce group involvement by all family members. Through group and individual participation in family projects, and family times, the individual experiences membership in the family and is increasingly bound into the family life.

We have been implicitly making a distinction here between the life of the family and the life of the individual family member. Each family member pursues a life in various ways separate from other family members. The seventh graders' lives consist of many activities outside of the home, in settings such as school, peer relationships, hobbies, Hebrew School, summer camp, and biking around the neighborhood. The other family members do not share these activities. Seventh-graders may also have interests which do not overlap with those of family members, such as Steve's model building, and Paul's coin collecting, which they work on at home and which are not shared with family members. But the adolescent also participates in family life, which we have described in this section. Throughout the report we will continue to contrast the life of the family and the individual life of the seventh grader, but the primary concern of the next few pages will be the relationship between family life and individual life.

The basic process through which an adolescent may be integrated into his/her family life is demonstrated in the following extract from our fieldnotes. In characterizing family members' involvement, we have discussed family time and family projects. Over a period of a week a family may engage in only a few of these activities. Clearly family life may occur daily and is not constituted only by these readily identifiable activities. After being present in the homes of the adolescents over the three month period, one becomes aware of a certain flow of interaction among family members which taken together constitutes the characteristic life of the family. Over the course of an afternoon, for example, members move in and out of each other's separate activities, question each other about these activities, make observations about these activities, make requests of one another, perform some activities together, and separate again to engage in their own activity. It is likely that if a member stayed in one central room of the house, such as the kitchen, for the whole afternoon they would encounter and interact with all of the family members at some point in time. To give the reader an idea of this, here is a description of an afternoon with Carol.

> We entered the kitchen where the mother was cooking something that she would later sell as part of her work. Sitting at the table I chatted with Carol and her mother. Some minutes later the father entered to see what was going on and to meet me. He sees the younger daughter coming home from school and comments on her approach. He greets her when she comes in and she gets something to eat. She goes over to inspect what the mother is doing. The mother asks her to get something

> from the refrigerator, which she does. She describes something at school and makes a request for a school project. The mother tells her where to get the things necessary. She leaves the room while the older brother, who had been out with friends, comes in to inspect what the mother is doing. She also asks for help from him. He gets a drink and gets what the mother wants. Carol goes over to see how the cooking is coming and we go up to her room. We see the father watching TV in his room. On the way down we see the mother has joined him there. Somewhat later we see the younger daughter has joined them. We go to the TV room and play some TV games. The mother later passes with the laundry and stops to talk with us. The sister comes in and makes a comment to us about her friend, makes a phone call, and leaves.

In looking at the events of this typical afternoon we see that the family members engage in numerous brief interactions. They pay attention to what each other is doing and may become involved in it, as they became involved in the mother's cooking project and the television watching. They comment on each other's activities and exchange information about their individual lives. Each family member is very much involved in knowing what is going on with the other family members. If someone is in one of the central rooms of the house it is likely that whatever he/she is doing will be interrupted several times in the course of an hour. It is interesting to note that the kitchen is the place in which a majority of the adolescents do their homework. Though they are engaged in a separate activity they can also participate in whatever else is happening in the life of the family. They can turn for help or the parent can look over their shoulder. When Jack comes home from school he goes to sit in the kitchen where his sister is preparing dinner. They chat about his day and hers. The other family members soon trickle in and other short dialogues are started before they leave the room again. Jack may do his homework there in the kitchen and periodically be interrupted by the inquiries or talk of other family members.

What we are suggesting is that the home seems to have family life rooms in which this daily flow of family life interactions takes place. Usually these rooms are the kitchen or the family room (den). While in these rooms family members are open to being disturbed or interrupted by other family members. Indicative of this is how Lee's parents go up to their bedroom when they don't want to be disturbed at the end of the evening. Lee understands that they now want their privacy and are deliberately removing themselves from family life. Similarly, when Ellen is done with her homework, which she does in her room, she comes down to the family room to watch television with the others and thereby reenters family life. When Carol wants to be alone she goes to the basement where no one else usually goes. Possibly her room is not private enough if her mother is home, for her mother's work materials and phone are in Carol's room. When Tom took his friends to the basement he became annoyed at his younger sibling for coming downstairs to bother them; by removing the friends from the family rooms Tom implicitly removes other family members from them and himself. When Gail's mother and Debra's father need to do work at home they go up to their rooms and out of the family room. But when Ellen's father was working on the dining room table next to the kitchen he was continuously interrupted by family members and had intermittent dialogues with family members without being annoyed. When the researcher came to Paul's home the mother asked where they would be so that she could plan to be elsewhere. In this way she ensured that normally family life space would be left private for Paul's use. But when she entered the kitchen to prepare dinner she invariably became involved in the dialogues or activities that the two were engaged in. Similarly, Paul asked about and commented upon what she was cooking for dinner.

In each home specific areas seem designated as family life areas in which family members can expect to enter into brief or extended interactions with other family members. Thus, the day to day family life is not usually characterized by recognizable group activities or projects. Rather, routine family life is characterized by intermittent interactions among family members as they participate in and talk about each other's separate lives.

We have suggested that certain rooms in the home may be regarded as the family life rooms. We have also suggested that family members' bedrooms are perceived as private spaces to be used (*inter alia*) to get away from other family members. Parents when they wish to be alone go into their bedroom and some lock their door. They are in effect closing themselves off from other family members and indicating that they do not wish to have interaction now, barring an emergency. Older siblings in families also spend long periods of time in their rooms when in the house.

But when the adolescents close their door they do not obtain the same degree of privacy as the parent or older sibling, nor do they choose often to close the door. When Tom studies in his room he is often interrupted by his brother with whom he shares the room, and by his mother who comes in to see how he is doing. While the fieldworker studied Ellen in her room her mother came and went three times bringing various articles of clothing, telling her some things, and just sitting and interacting. Heidi was with her girlfriend getting dressed in her room and her father opened the closed door to tell her the fieldworker had arrived. Later he walked by and opened the door to ask her to do something. Neither time did he knock. The male researcher suggested to Jack that they go to his room to talk. Jack looked at him oddly as if to suggest that was a strange place to be. The female researcher spent considerable time with the girls and their friends, but only once did a girl choose to go to her room to do things. Usually they remained in the family room and spoke of anything with little regard to others overhearing them. Parents would enter and sit down and join in the conversation and then leave. The overall impression is that if these adolescents need private space, they can usually find it. But they did not often indicate verbally or behaviorally that they wanted to separate themselves from family life. In this the adolescents were not significantly different from younger siblings who mainly spent time in the family rooms and whose rooms the parents entered at will, with no apparent concern about their child's privacy.

These observations emphasize the extent to which the adolescents are involved in and integrated into family life. The seventh graders and their younger siblings participate in the three manifestations of family life we have articulated: family times, family projects, and ongoing family interactions in the home. But the older siblings suggest a different picture of the adolescent's relationship to the family life.

Heidi's family nicely portrays this difference in that the family has children older and younger than Heidi. On every occasion the fieldworker visited the father was also present. One Sunday all were sitting around the table reading the newspaper with the television going and the mother doing some cooking. These activities were happening virtually in the same room. Heidi and the younger siblings were present, some helping with the cooking, some reading the paper and watching TV. After several hours the older siblings emerged from their rooms so that the researcher could meet them, got something from the kitchen, and went back to their rooms. On another occasion Heidi, her friend, the younger siblings, their friend, and the researcher were all outside. The mother and father were also outside working in the garden. Again the parents entered into the children's activities and the children entered into the parents'. At some point additional friends came to see one of the older siblings. Only at that point did it become clear that the brother was at home. He had been in his room all the time. In all the homes studied, younger siblings were present often enough during the researchers' visits for the latter to get to know them, but in the homes with older siblings the researchers hardly ever saw these persons. They participated very little in routine aspects of daily family life which occurred in family life rooms. Rather, they spent time in their own rooms or simply were out of the house. We have already noted how Steve said dinner time was not like family time because his brother was often not there. Speaking more of this, he states:

> My brother is not there very much, he works. Many times he starts work at 5:30 til later... He is usually studying at night and he seldom does anything with the family.
>
> [Steve gives the impression of his older brother leading a life fairly separate from the rest of the family. At least separate from Steve, which is in marked contrast to his relationship with his younger brother, where he gets involved in the younger brother's activities.]

Most of the older siblings like Steve's brother have jobs that keep them away from the dinner table during which the major daily family time occurs. Often they work or study at night or go out with friends. As Debra said of her older sister, family time is when they all sit down to talk or watch TV together, which only happens if her sister is too tired to go out. After dinner television-watching and weekend outings are activities that the older siblings are often not involved in. Ellen spoke of how most of the time her older brother did not go to the cottage with them. Debra's older sister did not have to go on the family vacation. Finally, the older siblings are less involved in family projects. Heidi's sister, who used to be involved with the horses, now has no time to ride and does not go riding or take lessons with the rest of the family. Ron's older brother is no longer expected to be part of the family garden project which is supposed to be a family project even if Ron does not experience it that way.

These observations suggest that as the adolescents age they spend more of their time in separate pursuits, and less time in family activities and interactions. The older adolescent maintains dyadic relationships with individual family members but seems to disengage from active participation in family life itself. Implicit in the observation that older adolescents engage in pursuits separate from the family is the likelihood that they are establishing a separate life of their own, as part of the process of individuation and identity formation which colors all of the adolescent life span. But in addition, the older teens' separation suggests that they are perceived as responsible and knowledgeable enough in the eyes of the parents to spend time safely away from the family. Through the juvenile years one observes the slow emergence of the child's separate life as he/she spends more and more time at greater distances from the parents. The seventh graders certainly spends more time away from their parents than do pre-schoolers. They go to school and overnight camp. They spend time with friends at their homes, movies, and shopping. Yet like younger siblings they still frequently seek out other family members and are sought out by the other family members. They participate in group family experience, rather than trying to separate themselves from it.

In the next chapter we will discuss the seventh graders' participation in their peer groups. Through our observations we came to see the tremendous role of the peer group in the lives of the adolescents. Because of this role we were led to believe that the family and family life was of less importance and played a lesser role in the adolescents' lives than the peer group. With this in mind, we asked Debra if she had a pie which represented her life, how much of it would be for family. We expected her to indicate only a small part. At first she said three-fourths of the pie. The researcher reacted with surprise and she said well maybe one-third, but either was larger than expected. She insisted that regardless, the biggest slice would be home, because if she's at camp she writes home everyday, and when at school she is thinking of what she will do when she gets home, and if her parents will let her do what she wants. When considering places she could be, interactions with family members, and her thoughts when away, Debra perceived home as the biggest part of her life. We chose to ask Debra about this because she is the most peer-oriented adolescent we studied. Even with her overwhelming peer involvement, she clearly saw herself as very involved in her family.

Via our observations and the adolescents' statements we understand the seventh graders to be very much integrated into the life of their families. When we discuss parental influence on the child we will analyze the process of this integration more fully. As Debra suggests, the flow of seventh graders' separate lives, they see themselves as parts of this family unit. They are involved in family life in an ongoing, day-to-day fashion, exemplified in the numerous ways that their activities are tied to the activities of the other family members.

All adolescent theorists recognize with Erikson that the major task of the adolescent is the formation of an identity separate from parents and family. The first process of identity formation is individuation from the parent and family. The older adolescents manifest this individuation in their creation of separate lives and simultaneous movement away from participation in family life. The seventh grader is at the beginning of this adolescent phase, and is not yet truly individuated from the family life. Taken together, these observations suggest that not only the children in a family develop and change over time, but also the nature of family life develops and changes over time as the children themselves individuate. It is likely that the meaning and manifestation of family life change as the family grows up. This conception of family developmental process, and its relationship to child developement, is a fascinating area for future research.

2. Parent-Child Relationships

The parent-child relationship may be understood as having two major components loosely comparable to the major Home Climate Domains of Relationships and Organization. A large proportion of parent-child interactions involves the parent's participation in and support of the life of the adolescent. The Home Climate variables of Involvement, Communication and Cohesiveness assist in understanding the nature of this aspect. But a second body of parent-child interactions surrounds the ways parents seek to alter or control the behavior of the adolescent, and the general extent of parental influence in the life of the adolescent. The Home Climate variables of Structure and Influence are important in understanding parental efforts to adolescents' lives.

a. Parents' Involvement in Adolescents' Lives

In discussing parent-child relationships we focus more on how the parents and children are involved with each other in one-to-one situations than is the case in family life interactions. In the section on family life we suggested that the adolescents associate the cohesiveness of the family with direct involvements of family memebers in shared activities. The data on the parent-child relationship similarly suggest that cohesiveness or closeness to the parent is associated with the dyad's involvement in each other's lives. In addition to behavioral interinvolvement, one major way that parents and children participate in each other's lives is through communication about life and life problems. This communication is one form of parent-child involvement.

In characterizing the involvement of the parents and children we focus on the ways that parents individually or as couples spend time alone with their seventh grader. In describing this the adolescents again focused on leisure and hobby activities. The boys mentioned activities undertaken with their fathers, which both father and son seemed to enjoy doing. Tom's father takes him to ballgames or plays tennis with him on weekends. Each male sibling takes a turn going with or playing with the father. Jack and Paul also go to baseball games with their fathers. Jack plays catch with his dad and together they took an outing "adventure" to the tall ships and got to board one. Steve plays catch with his father and together they build things in the workshop. As Steve said, "We both like to build things". Similarly, Ron and his father are going to build a darkroom because both are interested in photography. In these cases the boys and their fathers have mutual interests and share these interests together. The girls never mentioned going to sporting events or doing hobbies with their fathers or mothers.

The mutual involvements described above made up only a small fraction of the ways parents and children spent time together outside of family time activities. More often, the involvements of parents and children occur through an interest or need of the child's life. We have already indicated that each adolescent may be seen as having an individual life, one part of which is his/her participation in the family life. Similarly the parents have an indivividual lives,one part of which is their participation in family life. In addition, however, part of a parent's life is to become incorporated into and thereby supportive of the adolescent's life. A good part of the parent's life is arranged to enable the adult to spend time with the child so that the child can pursue his/her interests, have needs fulfilled, and generally receive support from the parent. Thus Kevin's parents come to watch him play baseball and Ron's attend a sports banquet with him to see him receive an award. Alice's mother watches her ice skate, makes her costumes, and takes her to and from her skating lessons. Heidi's parents watch her horseback riding, give her advice on her performance, come to her shows. Steve's father, personally uninterested in ships, takes his son to a museum to see the ships he builds models of. These are examples of ways parents spend time with their children supporting the child's enthusiasms and activities in which they themselves are not necessarily interested.

Similarly, parents spend time with their children doing activities related to the child's general maintenance and caretaking. The major daughter-mother involvement of this sort is clothes shopping. Alice's mother commented that it had taken three weeks of looking and discussion to find just the right pair of shoes. Beth talked of liking to go shopping for clothes for herself with her mother. Ellen wears a very small size dress, so her mother makes a number of her clothes and they are involved in picking out patterns, fittings, and the like. Similarly, parents take their children to medical appointments and for haircuts.

From our observations we propose two additional generalizations. First, the separate lives of the seventh graders are dependent in large part on the participation of the parent. Outside of family life involvement, much of parents' direct contact with their children is in the form of taking them to and from places in which the youngsters pursue separate activities. The community that we studied is suburban, having no bus service. Shopping and entertainment areas of interest to the children are long distances away, often located on major highways not accessible to the adolescents on foot. Friendships are very often formed at school. Because of the large and sprawling nature of the school district friends often live good distances from one another. Thus, it was not unusual for a parent to drive the child somewhere and later pick him/her up, every day of the week. In this kind of community, young adolescents who cannot drive and who have not other means of access to activities of personal interest to them are dependent on the same parents from whom they are seeking to individuate from assistance in completing this developmental separate life task - a touchy predicament indeed!

For example, Steve's development of his interest in ships was dependent on his parent's involvement. Steve wanted to go see the tall ships and also a special nautical museum. This year his parents did not want to take him to these places. Of this Steve said:

> I definitely do want to go in and board the ship, because I know I will see the Nimitz - yes, the Nimitz is going to be there.
> (Have you talked to your dad about going?)
> We talked about it at dinner the other day and we aren't sure yet, we might, I might go.
> (Just you, or you and your dad, or what?)
> I don't know, my mother's not that fascinated with ships.
> (Does your dad like it?)
> Not too much.
>
> [I learned that Steve's dad had taken a whole week off in order to take the older brother to various colleges, to consider where he wants to attend. The brother was taking this opportunity to look at various college campuses accompanied by his Dad. Steve wanted to go to a museum in Fall River that vacation which contains many sailing vessels of past ages, of which Rob constructed models of some. He had been there once before and enjoyed seeing those vessels about which he had read. Since his dad was taking the week off he asked his dad if he would take one of the days to take him to the museum. His dad at first said no, that he had taken the week off in order to take the brother around to the colleges and there wouldn't be time to take such a trip. Steve felt that this was not fair. He thought Bill was having all those days with his dad and he had none. It was only fair that his dad spend

> one day for him and with him. He said that he got upset with his dad and told him he didn't think it was fair. His mom talked with his dad and persuaded him to take one day for Rob to take him to the museum.]

Steve did not go to see the Tall Ships (an earlier event in Boston Harbor) with his father. His parents were not interested and would not attend even though Steve asked to do so. Similarly, the parents were not originally interested in the nautical museum. The only way that Steve was able to go was by having his mother appeal to his father's sense of equity between his son's. Clearly the father felt that exploring college with his older son was more important than taking Steve to a museum. These parents are easily involved in activities with their children that they, too, think are interesting (like baseball) or important for the youngsters (like clothing them) taking them to places where they can socialize with their peers, or further their future careers. But when the child wants the parent to be involved in an activity that is not interesting, or seen as developmentally unimportant by the parent the child's development in an individual direction is potentially and often actually limited. In this way the child's opportunities to individuate and grow are shaped by the parent-child relationship.

But dependence on the parent also is involved in our second point. The structure and content of the parent's life are influenced by the child's interests and needs. Steve's father altered his earlier plans by a day, to accomodate his younger son's interests and desires. Alice's mother, on the other hand, has structured her life around her daughter's ice skating practices,which occur five times a week at various rinks in the area and to which her mother must transport her both ways. In discussing Alice's skating with the researcher, the mother said:

> [Alice started working towards the preliminaries and you could see that she really needed to skate twice a week, and then when she was working on her first test after the preliminaries,you could really see she needed to skate more often. Now she skates every day. [Alice's mother wants me to know how expensive skating is. Alice has two pairs of skates which have to be replaced every six months, because she is still growing. The boots cost $200, and the blades $180. Plus, they have to buy ice time and pay for lessons. Also the mother's time is absorbed because the skating club is like a Co-op and parents have to give time to keep it going. And until recently the skating has been time consuming for the mother as she had to drive half an hour away twice a week. She has to sit and wait for Alice for two hours, and she said it is really boring so she brings a book. Now she shares the driving with someone else.]

For Alice to be involved in skating requires considerable investment by her mother. Aside from the financial expense, a good part of Alice's mother's time and energy both with and away from her daughter is spent supporting this aspect of Alice's life.

This description of parent-child relationships includes pictures not only of the child's life, but also of parents' activities. Much of each parent's off-the-job time is facilitating the interests of his/her offspring. These activities are not only face-to-face involvements with their children when not together. Many of the activities on behalf of the child are pursued by the parent alone. For example, unlike the girls, the boys do not usually accompany the mother on shopping trips for clothing; rather, the mothers shop and bring things home. The boys select what fits and what they want and the mothers return the rejected items. Similarly, Fay's mother goes weekly to the library to take out books for the family to read. All of the children in the sample had Bar and Bas Mitzvah's during the months of the project. For the child to have the celebration associated with his/her performance in synagogue, the parent must do all of the preparations for the party and houseguests; the child is minimally involved in this work. When Beth was asked,"You're not taking any responsibility for the parties or anything like that?", she answered, "No, I'm just making sure all may friends come." By doing various tasks that make the activities of the child's life possible, the parents support the separate life of the child.

The idea of supporting the life of the child appears to be a fundamental component of what it means to be a parent in these families. Moreover, it seems to be implicitly expected by the children, as Beth articulates in commenting on a deviation from this norm in her friend's home life. Of this she says:

> My friends' mother is really cuckoo. Her mother makes her cook, clean, do the dishes, make dinner, make breakfast, lunch. And she makes me so mad, her mother... Her mom makes her do the insurance!.... A kid shouldn't have to do that, I don't think a kid should have to do insurance. I don't think a kid should have to make dinner. I think she can help, but not do it. Her mother comes home, gets undressed, gets into her pajamas, and plops in bed and says,'"Make my supper",' She has to get up at 6:30 in the morning to make breakfast.
>
> (So you feel that Linda's being expected to act like an adult when she's a kid?)
> Yah.

It is interesting to note that the girl that Beth is talking about is of a different ethnic group than Beth. Although we do not argue that these parents' behavior with respect to their children's lives is good or bad, it does reveal an implicit assumption about parent child relationships in the Jewish home. That is, that the parent exists to perform specific life maintenance tasks for the child, so that the child in turn, is free to pursue his/her own interests, or (as Beth implies) so the child can be "a kid". Elsewhere we will look at the distribution of chores in the homes of these adolescents and find that they are expected to do very little in the way of self and home maintenance. These tasks are perceived by all as part of the mother's life not part of the child's.

Potential for friction exists, then, between a parent's efforts to help a child pursue his/her interests, and the parent's pursuit of his/her own. Insofar as we recognize that the child and the parent pursue independent lives that do not always include similar interests the potential for conflict such as we found with Steve is always possible. Yet expressed resentment by the parents at their role in supporting their children's activities is almost non-existent. The researchers originally conceived of the chauffering of children among activities as an unfortunate necessity of suburban life and early in the study sometimes offered to transport children instead of a parent. The most frequent response was, "Oh I don't mind it at all I like to take them." No child indicated that he/she could not do things he/she wanted because a parent would not provide a means of transportation, and no parent expressed distress at being continuously called upon to be involved with a child in this manner. Both seem to regard it as a natural part of life to be accepted and planned for. Even when the child's activities require a lot of time from the parent, as in the case of Alice, the parent finds ways of enabling the child to remain involved in interests without totally ignoring his/her own. Alice's mother first brought a book to read during the skating lessons. Then she found someone with whom to car-pool so that she drove only once a week. Finally, in the summer months the mother took a college course during the time her daughter skated. In these ways the parents structured their lives so as to support the interests of their children, simultaneously maintaining a relatively high degree of direct involvement with the children. We will discuss parental involvement in the children's lives again in the sections of this report on in-school and out-of-school learning.

The accessibility of the parents, their general presence and overall involvement in the child's life is very important to these adolescents. When Gail was asked if she could change anything in her life what would it be, she said, "If I could have my parents home more. My mother immediately after school not one hour later." Gail is uncertain why this matters to her but she seems to dislike coming home to an empty house. She recognizes that her dad has to work. "They have to work, so it's ok." But she would like to see both of them more but "I can't." Two of the boys, Steve and Jack, spoke of a lack of involvement with their father. Both fathers worked long hours as well as one day during the weekend. Steve talked about how his father "is not home much to share things." Steve's dad also did not have "time to show him how to use the lawnmower." Jack talked much about how he wants"more time with his dad who has to be working Saturdays." He wants to play catch and go to more ball games. Jack's father was then in the process of changing jobs so that he could spend more time with his family. After this transition Jack and his father went to see the Tall Ships, a ball game, a museum, and went shopping together.

Fay spoke about her attitude toward her mother being home after school:

> [I asked was it important to her to have her mom there when she came home from school and she says yes, emphatically. She said that one time her mother got home late because she was dependent on a friend to drive her. Fay was all angry at her mother. She doesn't like to be all alone with just the cat. She anticipates at least a half hour of talk with her mother sharing events of the day and having a snack together when she gets home. Fay does not want her mother to work so she wouldn't be there.]

Not being alone at home after school is important to Gail, Fay and Alice. This is not merely a matter of disliking an empty house. The after school hours are important for the parent-child relationship. During this period the adolescent talks to the parent, usually the mother, about what he/she has done during the day at school and what they are concerned about. Although Paul did not express such sentiments to us, his mother indiated that she feels this time is important to him. She deliberately chose a part-time job so that she could be present when her son returned from school:

> [She likes working half-time because she felt it was important to be home when Paul arrived. She felt there were often things he wanted to share with her when he came home, either something good that has happened or something that one of the kids had said to him that had upset him. She said often he might come home and although she can see that he is upset about something he might not want to share it at first, but he often eventually shares what he is upset about. She felt that she wouldn't want him to come home to an empty house and since they don't need the money for financial reasons she sees no reason to work full-time]

Alice remembers that coming home to an empty house was especially frightening to her when she was younger: for her it remains a distasteful experience. More typical are Fay and Paul, whose mothers observe that the children return from school with good and bad things to tell their parents. Paul's mother indicates that if she is available after school, even if he does not talk to her, she is aware of his feelings and will try to find time to talk to him later in the day.

These observations suggest that is is important that the parent be physically available to the adolescent after school. Even a short delay in appearing disturbs Fay and Gail. Yet if we look at the adolescent children of working parents who are not home after school, we find that they do not seem bothered by the parents' absence as adolescents who usually have their mother home after school claim that they would be. Working parents frequently use the phone to maintain accessibility and contact with their children. Debra's mother phones after school when she is working to talk to her daughter and discuss the day and afternoon events. Lee phones his mother about three times a week when he wants to talk with her. Thus he experiences his mother as available to him even if she is not present. His younger sibling phones the mother daily to talk after school. In this way the mothers provide after school contact even though they are not physically present, and their adolescents do not express the wish that the mother were home.

Nor do the adolescents whose parents are often not home after school because they are doing errands express a desire for the parents to be home. When asked about this, Alice and Kevin shrug and say they often do not come home directly after school anyway. Usually their mother arrives shortly after the children and talks with them about the day at that time. These adolescents thus seem to adjust to whatever pattern of parental accessibility is established in the home

More important than being physically present after school it seems is that the parents and children find time to talk about the child's day. Again we see that dyadic talk constitutes another way that parents become involved with their children's lives. In addition to the activities parents and children do together, and to the activities through which the parents make possible the separate life of the child, adolescents and parents spend time together discussing the happenings of the adolescent's life. In this way, parent-child communication becomes an important manifestation of parental involvement.

b. Parent-Child Communication

By "Parent-Child Communication" we mean those times in the parent-child relationship when the parent and child talk to one another in conversation, rather than doing actual activities together. We also distinguish this conversation from controlling communication, in which parents give the adolescents directions, enforce discipline, and use verbalizations in other ways to direct their children's immediate behavior. These types of communications will be discussed in the section on parental influence.

In the last section on parents' involvement in their children's lives we noted how much of parents' direct interaction with their children occurs in the form of conversations. We described how these adolescents share the happenings of their day with their parents, at dinner and after school. During these times parents and children are closely involved with each other through talk. In this section we explore the nature of this conversation, as well as how it often helps the parents to become psychologically involved with the child and the child's world.

In the discussion of family life we emphasize that the adolescent must be seen as having a life separate from that of the family and parents. Insofar as parents and adolescent are not constantly together to witness the activities of their respective lives, they have to access each other's lives only through communication describing those lives. One parent commented that she was glad that her child was going to participate in the study because she thought that it might be a way for her to find out what her child was doing. She experienced her child as never talking with her about the happenings in the child's life and so lacked knowledge of it.

The complaint that they do not know what their children are doing away from home seems to be expected from parents of adolescents in North American society. Part of the image of an adolescent that many people share is a person who maintains a private life to which parents (and other adults) have little access. Thus in looking at communications between parents and adolescents in this study we were surprised at the breadth of adolescent out-of-the-home activities to which parents have access through communication. The vast majority of the adolescents speak to at least one of their parents daily about almost every aspect of their lives. The adolescents talk with their parents about what they learn at regular school, religious school, and in other settings where they go for instruction. They discuss their reactions to these activities, including what excites them and what upsets them. They describe their own misbehavior and punishments, their troubled relationships with adult supervisors, and their perceptions good or bad of any of the people or tasks in the various external settings. Similary they discuss many peer activities and associated feelings, problems, and concerns.

In listening to both parent-child interactions and to the adolescents' own reports, we gained the impression that on the whole these adolescents hold back from their parents relatively little information about their lives from their parents. Although they live many hours of their lives separate from their parents, in conversation they inform their seniors of the major happenings in those other areas of life. In addition, through often excited and animated descriptions of the happenings of their days they involve their parents in the excitement of their lives; through their bored recountings of other aspects of their days they involve their parents in their mundane feelings; by sharing the anxiety, distress, and anger of their day they involve their parents in the overall fabric of their lives. Thus, through fairly extensive reporting these teenagers draw their parents into the day-to-day events of their separate lives.

We are not claiming that the parents know every detail of a child's life, or are we suggesting that the children have no life withheld in privacy from their parents. On the whole, however, the adolescents give their parents access to many areas of their lives such that their elders can share the child's experience of the world. In this way parents become involved in and knowledgeable about most aspects of the child's separate existence.

The emergence of a private area of experiencing is also indicated. The one topic not discussed with parents as frequently as others was relationships with the opposite sex. Unlike the other subjects we noticed, this topic was rarely spontaneously included in the parent-child interactions we observed. It was discussed, however, in almost every peer interaction we witnessed. Some reference to the opposite sex and to feelings about and current news of specific "opposites" was almost always made in conversations with peers. Yet this kind of information was seldom communicated to parents during our visits. Not all the adolescents talked with friends about sexual feelings and boy-girl relationships but those who did restricted exchanges on the subject mainly to peers.

Beth who indicates that she does talk to her mother and not her friends about her boy-girl relationships, describes below a typical conversation with her parents. She had been asked out by a boy and she was telling this to her parents:

> They're kind of old fashioned. My father says, "Who else is going besides you and Joe?" And I said Sue and Tim. And they say, "Who else?" and I said "Well, we're going alone." And they said "Oh." I came home that day when Joe asked me out and I said, "Mom, this kid asked me out," And she said, "Where you going?" And I said, "We didn't decide yet." And she said, "Why did he ask you out?" It was so funny. She thought that as soon as this boy asks you out you have to go out. So I said to her, "Mom, that's the old fashioned way to do it."

Beth's communication about this boy-girl relationship seems to be both transmission of information and an implicit request for permission to go. Her father sees it as something he will have to make a decision about. We are uncertain whether Beth's parents knew if she liked this boy and that she was "seeing" him in school previously as a "boyfriend". Her parents recognize him, however, as one of the boys in her "crowd". But this kind of day-to-day sharing about happenings between the sexes is relatively infrequent in parent-child communication. Beth gives an indication of why this might be the case when she notes that her parents "are kind of old fashioned" and so do not understand how boy-girl relationships are handled in her life.

The parents are perceived by the adolescents as lacking understanding of boy-girl relationships in their generation. Carol states:

> If you try to explain a feeling you have inside you or some= thing, they're not going to understand and, like, their generation, they didn't start dating til, like, tenth grade and we're dating in fifth grade.

Carol indicates that her parents are not able to understand "a feeling you have inside" because their generation had different circumstances and relationships with the opposite sex at her age.

Paul also relates that his parents do not understand the nature of relationships with the opposite sex. He compares talking with his mother and talking with his friends on this subject:

> He felt generally that his parents could understand things that were important to him. He felt that there were some things that he could more easily share with his friends than with his mom. This was because his friends would not be sympathetic deliberately, but because his friends were at the same level. He felt that they could understand him better. They had the same concerns as he did. This was in particular with boy-girl relationships.

Again the adolescent points to a difference between his and his parents' experiences of the world as blocking communication and understanding. The adolescents perceive their parents as having difficulty understanding this area of their lives, in contrast to most other areas of their lives.

But implicit in Paul's statement is the suggestion that he does not discuss certain topics with his mother. Carol also indicates that after trying to talk to her parents a number of times on topics that they could not understand she stopped raising these issues with them. Instead, she spends time alone thinking about her feelings.

Fay, on the other hand, continues to share her feelings about boys with her mother. Fay states that her mother understands "because she went through the same things when she was young. She liked boys and worried about how she looked." Unlike Carol, Fay concentrates on the similarity between her mother's and her own feelings when growing up. Sensing that her mother understands these feelings, she shares these with her.

What we suggest here is that the content of parent-child communication seems related to the degree to which the child perceives the parent as understanding those aspects of their lives that they share with them. Boy-girl relationships seem to be the first major area of life in which they do not feel understood by their parents, and become the one general category that parents have least access to. We suggest that parents may indeed understand least well this aspect of their children's lives, and that their youngsters' apprehensions are at least in part correct.

But the connection between perceived parental understanding and extent of communication about the child's life is also manifest on other topics. For example Steve wanted to spend time with his father looking at ships. After he expressed his feelings about his father's unfairness to his mother, she intervened for him with his father. Her behavior suggests that she understood what Steve was feeling and was able to act to help him. However, Steve was also having quite a bit of trouble with peers at school. Steve mentioned what occurred at school to his parents in his talks with them. In describing his parents' reaction he states that "Sometimes mom is not very understanding... She thought I was over-estimating, over-exaggerating the problem. She will think it's a lot worse or not as bad as things are." Over time, Steve stopped telling his parents about what was happening at school. Only when the counselor called the parents in to work on Steve's peer relationships because of declining grades did Steve's parents become aware of the severity of his peer problems. By responding to Steve that he must be exaggerating, his parents showed that they did not understand Steve's experience in his world. Receiving no understanding, Steve stopped sharing that aspect of his life with them.

Through communication parents gain access to the child's world. But through communication the child also learns what aspects of his/her life parents can meaningully respond to, and which aspects the parents seem incapable of understanding. As they feel misunderstood they no longer share that aspect of their life with parents. From the parent's point of view, the child begins to develop a private life unknown to the parent. The seventh grade appears to be the beginning of the emergence of this private life and the more differentiated relationships between parents and children of later adolescence.

But overall we recognize that these seventh-graders still share the bulk of their life experiences with at least one parent. The very presence of this extensive sharing suggests that they feel understood in most areas of their lives. When we asked the adolescents about their feelings of being understood, all of them indicated that they felt understood most of the time by at least one parent. The notion that parents cannot understand the experiences of teenagers was not widespread among this group. Rather, they wanted and expected their parents to share the happenings and feelings of their lives. One afternoon Alice and her mother and another girl were gossipping about the people at her gymnastic's class. Alice was telling a funny story about one of the people there, when her mother said, "I'm sure [the researcher] is not interested in this gossip!" Alice responded vehemantly, "I'm telling you, Mom!" Clearly it was important to Alice to tell her mother even the little things that happened in her life.

That the parents usually listened and, like Alice's mother, participated in the talk suggests that the parents are also interested in hearing about the child's experiences. The adolescents' descriptions of their parents' reaction to this sharing indicate that the children perceive them as generally interested and ready to become involved in their emotional life, for example, said:

> His mom would always ask him what is wrong when she noticed that he was in a bad mood. I asked what she would have picked up on to say this. He said that he would appear to be grouchy and getting into a fight with his sister. He said that his Mom thinks talking about what is upsetting him sometimes helps even without any particular advice. He said that it sometimes does.

Tom indicates that his parents are sensitive to when he is in a bad mood. Similarly Ellen notes that when she stomps around the house her parents yell at her, "That's not communication!", and try to get her to talk about her feelings. Fay's brother describes a particular face Fay makes when she is in a bad mood. Paul describes his mother similarly, stating that when she notices that he is upset:

> Sometimes my mom will ask me what is bothering me, and if I say nothing, she'll get mad and keep asking me what is bothering me until I tell her something.

In describing her parents' reaction to her being upset, Carol observes:

> My dad figures that if anything was wrong I would go to him and my mother, and everything would get straightened out... Or he'll say if I'm down he'll say, "What's wrong?", and I'll say, "Nothing."
> [And he doesn't keep bugging you until you tell him?]
> No
> [Does your mother do that ?]
> No, if I don't want to tell them, then I'm not going to tell them.

Finally, Alice describes one time when she was very upset and locked herself in her room. She remembers that she "heard her parents yelling 'Where is the key?', cause [she] wouldn't let them in."

We see from these descriptions that the parents are generally sensitive to when their children are upset about something. They seek out the child and make themselves available for talk. Some of the parents like Carol's simply ask the child what is wrong and leave it at that if the child does not want to talk. But a good number pressure their children to talk when they are upset. Implicit in these parental reactions is the message that the way to handle being upset is to talk about one's feelings, describe them, and analyze what one thinks is causing them. The parents thus encourage the child to deal with his/her feelings in these ways by making themselves available as an understanding audience. Parents' probing for feelings also indicates that they see it as appropriate for themselves to be involved in helping their children with their feelings.

One way parents help their children with their feelings is by being present to hear and sympathize. In addition, two other processes seem to have similar outcomes. Alice was distressed because one of her friends could not come to her party. Her mother nonverbally responded by showing a sympathetic face. She then said, "Well, it's kind of a legitimate excuse." Sensing Alice's feelings of rejection her mother tries to help Alice to see her friend's inability to come as the result of circumstances rather than a personal rejection. The mother helps her child perceive the situation so that it is less disappointing and also less threatening to her daughter's developing self-confidence about her abilities in social situations. Alice also reported that recently she told her parents that she doesn't want to move to a new home. She expects that now her parents "will tell me all the good things about moving so that I'll feel better about it". In both cases, Alice's parents are trying to change Alice's perception of a distressing situation so as to help her "feel better" about something that will inevitably occur. Through communication the parents try to affect their children's perceptions, to help them minimize their distress and to accept what is happening to them, all the while appreciating that the distress is real.

A second way that parents try to help the child with concerns and problems is offer advice. Paul also notes how his mother will:

> Help him think a problem through, help him reason out a problem. His dad is **either an** optimist or a pessimist, telling him either that things will be ok and work out, or that there just isn't anything he can do about it and he will just have to accept it. He felt that his mother's kind of help was better. Carol had a problematic interaction with a non-Jewish friend because Carol did not want to talk about religion. This friend told all of Carol's other friends, causing her to have to answer for it. She felt that it was extremely inappropriate of her friend to have done this. So when she went home and told her mother what happened, the mother told her that you have to stick to your own, you don't have to prove anything to them. Carol prefers Jewish friends because they are already like you and you can get along with them.

Beth had a problem related to school which she discussed with her mother:

> If I had a test and I wasn't ready for it, like, and I don't want to take it. Like, I didn't want to take my science test and I asked my mom if she'd drive me in late today so I wouldn't have to take it. And she says, "Do you have the notes?" and I said, "Yes, but I forgot them." And she says, "Well, if you study them you'll be able to take the test. So go up and study." And I said, "Oh, I have to take the test."

These adolescents often have problems in interpersonal relationships that result in hurt feelings or awkward situations. They may also have problems such as Beth's in school that they look to parents to help them solve. Some parents simply indicate the way a problem is to be solved. Beth's mother tells Beth that she must take the test, so the solution is to study. However, some of the parents like Paul's mother, try to help the child think through the situation. Some, like Carol's mother, offer suggestions that are not binding of ways to act in the future to avoid hurts or problems. In all cases, the parents' advice probably influences the adolescent's actions in their separate life. Beth does take the test. Carol seeks out Jewish friends. Paul develops different strategies for handling current and future problems; His mother, unlike his father, helps him discover ways to influence his life, besides just accepting what comes and hoping for the best.

Through communication about problems and feelings the parent enters into the child's experiencing of the world and helps the young person gain a new perspective on what has occurred. In addition, he/she may provide advice on how a situation should be handled, how it could have been handled better or how it might be handled in the future. Thus, the parent not only learns about the child's separate life but comes to participate in that out-of-the-home life. Communication is a primary way that the parent becomes involved with the child. Not only via face-to-face talk but through indirect participation in the context of these conversations.

Throughout this discussion of communication we spoke of the adolescents as talking with their parents. All of the adolescents report that they speak with at least one parent on a daily basis about some aspect(s) of their lives. However, the youngsters do not communicate with both parents equally or in the same way. Discussions with them suggest major differences in the roles of fathers and mothers in communication. On the whole, adolescents talked much more to their mothers than to their fathers. One adolescent indicated that he talked with his dad "about things like sports, politics, and the law, which is what he enjoys talking to his dad about". He talks to his mom "about small things like how things are going in school or something that happened at school... If someone would talk to him about feeling down it would most likely be his Mom." There is some indication that the fathers talk to the sons about more "worldly" topics than the mothers. However, the major indication is that the adolescents, male and female, mainly talk with their mothers about day-to-day happenings and feelings of distress.

The adolescents pointed to several reasons why they did not talk extensively with their fathers. First and foremost the fathers were not physically present as often as the mothers. Steve indicated that dinner is "the only time we can ask Dad anything, for he is working before and after dinner". Steve says he will only bring up important things that must be asked at this time and not simply share his day. The sharing of the day occurs earlier with his mother. Lee says that he gets along with his parents equally well but "he talks more to his mom because she's home more than his dad". Fay states that her father "makes no time for me". Jack mentions that his father is not home enough. The only person in the sample who said that she spoke more to her father about problems was a girl whose father was home each time the researcher met with her. Although the father was a top level executive, he stated that he like to take long weekends instead of long vacations during spring and summer so that he could enjoy the good days while they were here. Thus the major reason that the adolescents offer for why they do not speak as much with their fathers is that the father is less available to them in the home.

One must question whether the fact that the fathers work full-time is the main reason acolescents talk to them less. Most of the mothers either do not work out of the home, some only work part-time or started working full-time during the seventh grade year. Most are thus at home after school to talk with the adolescents and the fathers in general are not. It might be expected that the few working mothers would communicate less frequently with their children than the others, similarly to the fathers. But as mentioned before, this is not the case. The working mothers make themselves available during the working day by allowing the child to phone them at work or by phoning home after school is out. One mother who has always worked full-time owns her own business which the child frequents after-school, thus making contact with the mother.

In addition, after-school time is not necessarily the critical time for parent-child communication. Two afternoons a week the adolescents attend Hebrew School afterschool and are not home any length of time before going there. Several adolescents are involved in plays, gymnastics, and other school activities that take place after school. In addition, the youngsters often take the school bus directly to a friend's house after school. Thus, many days during the week the adolescents are not home to tell about their day until the working parents are also home. Work does not inevitably limit communication between parent and child.

Our observations suggest alternatively that mothers unlike fathers make it their business to talk to the child about their day. An enlightening examples of this parental sex difference occurred in one home where the father was home with a back injury. When the two children arrived home they phoned the working mother to tell about the day and ask about an after-school activity. The children did not go upstairs to talk to the father but acted as though he was not at home. In another instance, a mother sent a father just arrived in the evening, upstairs to talk to his son, who was upset. The mother "sending" the father suggests that the father would not have gone spontaneously to talk to his son upon coming home from work. Finally, it is usually the working mother, not the working father, who calls home or is called to check on the children. Clearly the mothers see it as their domain to talk to the child; the fathers mostly do not. Since most of these mothers were home during the child's younger years, both parents may be continuing in an altered setting communication habits established then. But whether the pattern arises in this manner or (as some would argue) is the result of sex-role stereotyping and modeling, our observations clearly suggest that the mothers of both males and females speak more with the adolescents about their days and problems than do the fathers.

In addition to availability, the adolescents mention other reasons for not talking with their fathers. Two adolescents say that mood is a reason that they do not talk with their fathers. Tom indicates that his father is often "grumpy" when he returns from work, and Ron says that "his dad is so grumpy and picky and always yelling". Although physically present these fathers are not psychologically available because of the states of mind they appear to be in.

Finally the adolescents point to fathers' lessor capacity to understand and help with their problems as a reason for speaking with them less frequently. We already noted that Paul does not feel his father's optimism or pessimism to be particularly helpful in dealing with his problems. Fay indicates that her father does not listen to her and cannot understand her experiences as well as her mother because he was not a girl. Carol notes "I don't talk to dad much about my things that need to be understood". Here the adolescents suggest that fathers understand them and their lives less thoroughly than the mothers. This lack of understanding may be accounted for in part by the father's lack of the day-to-day information about the children's lives and feelings that the mothers gain from their continuous talk with their children, which provides the contextual knowledge of persons and situations needed for proper responses to and useful advice on something the child is experiencing on a particular day. Since the fathers do not have this knowledge, they cannot be as intimately involved as the mothers in their children's separate lives.

Although the adolescents did not report this as a reason for limited contact with the fathers, they frequently cited a particular interaction style engaged in mainly by fathers that may account for some of the decreased communication. Teasing occurs between parents and children, most often the father teasing the teenager, not invariably. Two forms of teasing were mentioned. First some parents call children names that ridicule characteristics the child is sensitive to. "Honey-pot" is one father's name for a somewhat overweight son. Another refers to his talkative son as "Motor Mouth". Whether or not the parent intended to hurt the child, he/she always feels injured and wishes the parent would not use the name.

More common than name-calling, however, is a tendency to mock the child's perceptions or ways of handling himself/herself in a situation. We already noted how in Beth's family the father and brother ridicule the behavior of the younger brother. Beth and her mother do not participate in this ridicule; Beth also does not share events that would open her to such ridicule. In another family both mother and father laughed continuously at the simplemindedness of their fifth grade child, who came home with a new school team shirt and announced that it was not supposed to be washed because it belonged to the school. If adolescents feel liable to ridicule by their parents, and thus potentially embarrassed and hurt, it is unlikely that they will often share aspects of their lives which might render them vulnerable to the teasing parent(s); thus, the habit of teasing limits the parent(s) access to the day-to-day experiences of their child. Furthermore, the child may feel that the parent is insensitive to his/her feelings and so further repress expression of feelings that need to be understood by various members of the family.

We must note that teasing occurs alongside generally close and warm parent-child relationships and does not always produce the deleterious outcomes referred to above. Almost all the adolescents indicate that they feel close to their parents, sense that they are understood by them, and have good relationships with them.

Overall, these adolescents have very cohesive relationships with their parents, manifest in their communications with each other in which the parents enthusiastically share the joys and concerns of their child's days. This overall involvement of the parents in the youths' lives, coupled with observations and reports of much kissing, hugging, touching, and physical closeness in the families, make comprehensible the cohesiveness of the parent-child relationships of these seventh grade adolescents.

c. Adolescents' Involvement in Parents' Lives

Thus far we have talked about the nature of parent-child involvement, especially communication and cohesiveness. We concentrated on how parents become involved in the life of their child. We observed that parents are knowledgeable about and supportive of their child's separate life. Yet the idea of involvement implies a mutuality not yet addressed. In thinking of parenting we usually assume that parents are involved in the life of their child. But we might also ask whether the child is involved in the life of the parents, for like the child, parents engage in many activities separate from the life of their family.

We were directed to this question of mutuality after spending time with Fay and her mother one afternoon, sitting on the deck and relaxing in the sun for an hour or so. Throughout this time Fay and her mother carried on a fairly steady conversation on which Fay described various peer happenings, talked about her bus driver, indicated that she needed new roller skates, and generally informed her mother about various aspects of her life. Fay's descriptions and opinions were extensive, but her mother reciprocated in kind hardly at all. From the fieldnotes:

> Fay spent some time telling her mother about school and the bus situation. She did it in such a way as to turn to her mother and say, 'Mom, you remember this,' or 'Guess what happened to so and so?' These observations were clearly something Fay was sharing with her mother. The mother, however, did not share about herself with her daughter in front of me. On the other hand, she did talk directly to me describing her feelings about various aspects of her life. This talk was directed to me and she and I engaged in a conversation. But this talk was not directed to Fay. Although she could listen to our conversation and thereby learn about her mother, her mother did not directly share about herself to her daughter.

It is not clear whether this episode is representative of the conversation between Fay and her mother in the absence of the observer. Nonetheless, it led us to question the extent to which the parent-child relationship in general, is mutual or unidirectional. These parents are clearly involved in the adolescents' lives. To what extent are the adolescents involved in their parents' activities and concerns?

This question assumes theoretical importance for the understanding of child development when we remember that the seventh grader is just beginning the task of identity formation, starting to put together ideas of the kind of person he/she will become as an adult. For this purpose, parents are the teenager's most accessible models; from observing them, the youth assembles many components of his/her ideas and feelings about adulthood. Thus we must investigate not only how much mutuality prevails in the parent-child relationship, but also what images and knowledge of adult life the youth gains through the relationship.

The majority of these adolescents are not assigned weekly household responsibilities. As we noted, however, they become involved in this aspect of their parents' lives when the latter ask them for help on an *ad hoc* basis. When asked, Paul sets the table, Heidi helps in the kitchen, Carol helps to clean the garage, Gail vaccuums the hall, Alice cleans the bathroom. As the adolescents take on these household tasks they become collaborators with their parents in the adults' projects, and provide support for specific aspects of their parents' lives. This process is clearly exemplified in Beth's changing household responsibilities:

> When my mother goes to work my brothers and I have to do the wash and make sure everything's neat and clean and make sure everything is all right...But she's not working now so she does the wash herself.

These children support their mothers in their household work just as the mother supports Beth's life by driving her to friends' homes. Similarly, Ron assists his father by working in the garden. We know that Ron sees this garden as his father's project, not his own or the family's; his work in the garden enables Ron to assist his father to achieve the pattern of living the latter aspires to. Parents may exercise a degree of compulsion in these matters that the children cannot exert in the opposite direction. Nevertheless, achieving the child's cooperation often requires considerable nagging.

The child is drawn into parent's tasks not only by parental demand, but also by simple propinguity. Returning home from picking up a child at a friend's house, a parent may stop at the grocery store; the child therefore accompanies the parent during the shopping. Beth talks of a typical situation between parent and child:

> It's terrible going shopping with my mother. 'Oh, my god, if she goes to _________ store she's there for five hours trying things on, and I tell her it looks terrible so that we can go home.' It annoys her if they are going shopping for her and her mother says, 'Well, I'll just stop here for a minute,' and it takes another half hour or something to get something for her mother.

Beth may have had an activity she planned to do when she got home. But if the mother takes a long time or makes extra stops, Beth must wait around for her mother to finish. Thus the child is obliged to alter her life plans to accommodate the parent, just as the parent must accommodate to the child's activities when he/she builds her plans around those of her child's.

Not all participation in parents' lives is unwilling participation, however. When the adolescent enjoys the proffered role in the parent's life, participation is more willing. Alice, Beth, and

Fay all spend time cooking with their parents. This cooking is done more out of the girls' attraction to an enjoyable and responsible task than actually to help the parent. Fay helps stir a cake and eats the batter. Heidi and Carol bake brownies for the fun of baking and eating them, rather than to provide a dessert for the family.

In Alice's home one afternoon the following was observed:

> Her mother started to make dinner which was going to be meatballs. Alice gets up and says that she wants to help. So her mother says squash up the meatball mixture. But Alice doesn't want to squash it up. The mother does this and tells Alice to put the meatballs into the pot of sauce. She shows Alice how to make the meatballs and Alice forms the meatballs and puts them in the pot. Her mother comes over and stirs it a little. When Alice was stirring it on her own without her mother's instructions, the mother said, 'Don't do that! You are going to break them up. Just put the lid on and let them simmer.' During this process the mother is standing and watching and talking to me. I asked Alice if she likes to cook and she said, 'Yes, it's okay,' but that she definitely likes to help and do this and that but not make the whole thing herself.

Alice helps her mother with dinner but only wants to do those parts of the task that she enjoys. She likes to cook but she does not want responsibility for the whole meal. Alice's mother uses this time as an opportunity to instruct Alice in proper cooking techniques. Mother and daughter do not really cook together, for the mother mainly watches the daughter perform during this time. Alice is "allowed" to cook, as she later put it, a task seen by her as a privilege of getting older and more responsible. The daughter's activities are not a true help to her mother in that the mother does not need help at that time. Rather the cooking becomes an opportunity for instruction. In this way the adolescent's spontaneous interest in parental behavior is an opportunity for learning. As the child participates in the parent's life tasks, the parent uses the participation to further the child's development.

We recognize that Alice's help with cooking arises out her desire to cook, not out of a wish to aid her parent. Only Heidi's mother notes that Heidi is beginning to help her around the house more spontaneously because "I guess she can see how much work I have to do around here." This kind of spontaneous helping of the parent in tasks without being asked or nagged is rare. In general the adolescents are not oriented to helping their parents. Whether or not the adolescent's participation in the parent's life tasks is spontaneous, coerced, or developmental in nature, through the involvement they gain access to the nature of these tasks in the parent's life.

Thus far the tasks discussed are household tasks that are easily observable and accessible to the adolescent. In the adult's life there are many other aspects that are not readily accessible to the adolescent, such as work and out-of-the home activities. The availability of genuine involvement in these areas of adult functioning is a key factor in the growth of the children's understanding of adult life outside the home.

These adolescents are best informed about and participate most frequently in adult income-producing work based in the home. Carol's mother makes candy and barrettes to sell. During the cooking of the candies the mother periodically asks for help from the children who willingly get the ingredients she needs from the shelves. All the children stand and watch the candy making process. Carol becomes more instrumentally involved in the mother's work in the selling of the products. At the pool one day:

> Carol was wearing a wide barrette to keep her hair back. It was a fancy barrette and a woman present said, 'Oh, aren't you going to rust it?' Carol said, no it was waterproof. The woman asked where she could get one. Carol said, 'We make and sell them.' Carol said that her mother makes them

> and she sells them at school and distributes them at various stores in town. Carol knew the prices of the barrettes and why they were priced that way.

Carol says "we" make and sell them. She distributes her mother's products, and clearly thinks of this as her and her mother's business in which she has an important role. In doing the selling and distributing she becomes aware of an aspect of the the adult business world and indeed sounds very much like a salesperson. She also becomes aware of the reasons that things are priced as they are. She enjoys this role in her mother's business but her success in it is not something her family is dependent upon for financial support. She thus gains access to some aspects of adult economic activity but not to all of them.

Similarly, Ron participates in his family's business. Although not located in the home, the home has a connecting telephone extension. In addition, the business is located in the neighborhood, a unique situation for the families in the sample. Ron often helps them after school. His parents pay him to do the gardening, and to answer the phone and do light office work like stapling. The stapling is comparable to household chores in that he is often nagged to get this task done. Although some of the tasks assigned to him by his parents do not interest Ron, his general participation in the business does. He always speaks of "our" business and seems interested in making a contibution to it. When he noticed a competing business opening up down the block he wrote down its name and address to tell his parents because, "I'm sure they will be interested." He speaks with concern about the national economy and its effect on the business. Ron says that dinner time in his home is most often associated with disucssions about the business and its success.

> He said that besides jokes the only other thing that they talk about at the table is the business. They talk about the recession and how it is affecting the firm. I asked him what the effect was and he said that there had been no effect, that people were still buying their product.

Through his involvement in the business with his parents, Ron like Carol gains experience in, knowledge about, and access to the process of work and adult behavior in this context.

For the most part, the other adolescents can label their parents' job(s) but they do not display knowledge of or interest in the process of the work or their parents' experience of work on a day to day basis. Asked about her father's work, Heidi can only say that "he works hard;" this is her only descriptor of what her father does. When asked how much he knows about his dad's job, Paul says:

> Not much.
> [His dad never really talks about it and he doesn't ask questions. He knows that the company is involved in electronics but what his dad's role in the process is he doesn't know. He said he'll have to ask him about it.]

Fay and her brother asked their parents to stop talking about work in front of them because it did not involve or interest them. Fay's lack of interest can be partially explained by the fact that for the most part her parents do not share their work experiences with them directly; nor are their places of work accessible to Fay, as they are in Ron's case, for observation and participation. Most adolescents, including Fay, share the events of their own day with their parents, but Fay's parents share the events of their day with each other, not the children. Fay senses she is excluded from and not expected to understand her parents' table conversation and wants it replaced by something she can participate in.

These parents contrast with Lee's father, who brings his son to his workplace and has continuous dialogues with him about his work. Lee takes an interest in his father's work and enjoys talking to him about it, for Lee wishes to be a therapist also. Lee thus sees talk about his father's work as pertinent to his own life and future:

> His dad is a professor at a professional school in psychology and Lee aspires to become a therapist when he grows up. Lee sometimes talks about particular cases with his dad. When Patty Hearst was being tried he asked him all about that because he didn't understand about the psychological process in that case. Lee said that he has read some of his dad's transcripts that he uses for teaching and talks to him about these. He said that he has gone down to his dad's office and looked at tapes from the classes. He said that when he was done looking at the tapes his dad looked in on him and asked him some questions to see what he had learned.

Lee says that his father discusses issues of therapy with him, instructs him in the dynamics of the therapeutic process, gives him insight about the nature of the profession, and does all this in such a way as to be understood by and interesting to his son. What the father shares with Lee, however, is not what the father is currently doing or the father's feelings about his current work. Rather the father perceives these interactions (as described by the son) as opportunities for instruction, in which the father tells and the child learns.

We must distinguish here among observing, instructing, and sharing. In our descriptions we note that when the adolescent has direct access to the parent's work life he/she observes and may participate in that aspect of the parent's life. The adolescent thus sees the parent in an adult role other than the parental one. If the adolescent expresses interest in the parent's work, be it cooking or a profession, the parent may instruct the child in the area of interest. Thus the child gains further access to skills and information useful in that aspect of adult life. The parent now takes on the role of instructor, an expansion of his/her original relationship with the child. In either case, parent and child rarely carry on a dialogue about the parent's experience of being an adult, and particularly the parent's out-of-home experiences as these affect the parent-child relationship. If the child does not ask about non-observable aspects of the parent's life, he/she is likely to gain no knowledge of those dimensions of adulthood. More important, since the adult rarely volunteers information to his/her child about his/her experiences outside of the home, the adolescent achieves a very partial understanding of the major and lesser happenings and issues of adult life that affect parents' moods and family dynamics as a whole.

For example, Jack sensed for some time that there was some problem in his father's work situation of which he was unaware:

> Jack said lately he has been really worried. Up until recently he felt that his family had been doing okay financially. They never for all these years had to worry about money. Now it just seems that his family is falling apart. They are really short on money. Jack said that he felt that the real reason his dad could not bring some pictures home that they had taken was not because of advertising needs in the business but because his dad did not have the money to pay for them. He said that his dad has been so short of money that when he takes money for lunch in the morning (40¢) he feels like it's the only money that his dad has for the day.
>
> He said that usually his parents don't talk about money in front of him but he became aware of how tight things seemed to be money-wise and he asked his dad to tell him about what was going on. He told his dad how worried he was about his family going broke. In this conversation, however, Jack found out that there was a prospect for a very good new business and that in a while they would have a lot more money. But what he felt best about from his dad's conversation was not the financial part but that he would be able to see a lot more of his dad. He said that it would be located nearby and his dad would not have to work at all on Saturday.

Probably trying to shield Jack from financial concern, his parents "did not talk about money in front of him." Yet Jack became aware of how worried his parents were about money. Finally, he asked his dad what was going on. In this conversation his dad learned of his son's concern and the son learned that things were going to be all right and perhaps better than they had been. Subsequently, Jack spoke regularly with his father about the new business, found out when the contracts would be signed, and grasped what was happening in his father's work. Presumably if Jack had not approached his father he would have continued to think that all was not well, even when positive changes were occurring. The adolescents seem to be skilled at detecting parental preoccupations, but when they are not involved in dialoguing about the nature of such problems they may imagine them to be much worse than they are.

But in areas of less vital concern, the simple happenings of a parent's life may go unknown by the adolescent because of the absence of dialogue with the adolescent about the events of parents' lives. A conversation one afternoon among Debra, Ellen, and Debra's mother was quite surprising:

> I found out that Ellen's father was very involved in an organization with Debra's mother and had the last evening won an award for a contribution. Debra's mother, who was telling of this, did so by asking Ellen whether she had told her father how proud she was and that she should be proud. Ellen said that her father didn't tell her about it but only that he had a meeting. After a pause Debra asked her mother if she had won anything. The mother said that she was elected to an office for the next two years, so that is kind of an award.

Ellen found out about the events of her father's life from her friend's mother. The father had only indicated that he was going to a meeting. But Debra's mother also had not told her daughter that she was running for office, let alone had won it. Debra gained this information only when she asked. Even then, Debra's question seemed like an afterthought and not a typical query by this child of her mother. What is suggested here and in other observations is that spontaneous sharing of the events of out-of-home life is something that the child does with the parent and that the parent does with the child only in rare and special instances. In addition, the parent regularly inquires about the child's day, but the child does not inquire about the parent's activities. Only once when we were in the field did a child ask a parent about her day, and this was in reference to the mother's physical condition as she had just gotten over an illness.

A definite set of norms and expectations seems to be operating here. Whereas parent and child expect to share the child's life events, they do not expect to share the parent's life events. Parents should be interested in their child's life, but this interest need not be reciprocated by the child. The parent should be helpful and supportive of the child's life, but the child need not willingly support the more mundane aspects of the parent's life. Only when the child is personally interested in the parents' out-of-home work does the parent provide access to this aspect of his/her life. For the most part, the child knows best the at-home part of the parent's life. He/she is unaware of the processes and events of the parent's life that are not directly available to them.

We are not suggesting that it is good or bad for the child to be involved in and knowledgeable about every aspect of the parent's life. Yet we recognize that out of some degree of involvement that the child can gain important components of an image of what it means to be an adult. To the extent that the parent makes more aspects of his/her life available to the child, the latter will compose a more realistic and complex picture of what they are growing into and of the future they must prepare themselves for.

d. Summary: Parent-Child Relationships

In the last three sub-sections we have discussed the parent-child relationship as an association between two persons. The overriding concept we addressed is involvement. We noted that involvement may be thought of as potentially mutual, but that in this group of families, the parents participate in their children's lives but for the most part the adolescents participate in the parents' activities only to a limited degree. "Mutuality" would not characterize most of the relationships. The involvement that does occur of children in their parents' lives is mainly home-based, rather than out-of-home or work-based. For the most part, involvement and communication occur through the parent being enmeshed in and supportive of the child's life via direct interaction with the child and through supportive behavior by the parent when away from the child.

While the vehicle of "family life" is mainly leisure activities, that of parental involvement is largely guidance and maintenance of the child. Through talk and action the parent sees that the child is properly taken care of and helps them to manage more effectively in their out-of-home lives. This way of organizing the parent-child relationship seems to be expected by both parent and child; both assume that the parent should be concerned about, interested in, and supportive of all aspects of the child's life. Few aspects of these seventh graders' lives are closed off to the parent although this will probably change in the next few years of adolescence.

Finally, we suggest that the pattern of non-mutual involvement that has been identified reflects not only how caring and sharing occur in these families, but also influences the model of adulthood each adolescent is assembling upon which each will, in part, form an individual identity. Thus the absence of approximate mutuality, particularly with respect to parents' communicating about their out-of-home activities, may well profoundly influence the futures of each of these children.

E. Organization

In this chapter we will focus on the organization of the Jewish seventh grader's world. Three dimensions seem important for characterizing this world. First, it has a particular geographic location, i.e., it is centered in a neighborhood with boundaries, within which the lives of the adolescents mostly take place. Second, the youngsters' world is predictably organized in time: there are habitual activities, recurrent persons, and an overall flow in their lives. Lastly, their homes are similarly organized, physically and esthetically. In the next pages we will look at each of these three dimensions, in turn.

1. Geographic Dimensions

Westville is a suburb. In the neighborhoods in which these children live the streets are not laid out like city blocks. Most of the houses are on winding roads or cul-de-sacs. Generally, the adolescents have neighbors next door and across the street, but backyards are separated from other yards and houses by wooded land and streams that make communication difficult. From only one home in the sample was it possible to walk around the block, which took a considerable length of time because of the lengths of component streets. Usually on a walk with the adolescents we backtraced or cut through someone's yard in order to return a different way.

Yet each adolescent has a general area in which he/she has friends and knows people. Patty talks of the "upper block" and the "lower block," and how she is on the lower block and knows mostly people from there. Four other adolescents live on winding streets of this sort. They sometimes walk in a larger area, down one long road up a long perpendicular street, across another long winding road, and back down a second perpendicular street. These adolescents know other adolescents dispersed along the route. Seven adolescents live on cul-de-sacs which often parallel other cul-de-sacs and empty into main or larger streets with some traffic. Within these semi-bound areas, the adolescents have friends they spend time with. Finally two of the youngsters' houses are more isolated, one situated on a busy main road, and one on considerable property isolated from the sight of other houses. In both cases the adolescents know persons nearby, but seem to experience less sense of neighborhood than the other children, although they certainly enjoy neighborhood relationships.

The sprawling neighborhood areas are generally bound by large main roads, strips of forest, bridges, or other physical features which became the first restrictions the adolescents experienced when younger. These bounded areas focus on different highways, schools, and shopping areas such that informal communication among them is difficult. Getting to school usually involves great distances and crossing highways and main streets; all but two of the adolescents ride the bus to school. At the school the youngsters meet and make friends with children from other neighborhoods in Westville.

Because of the sprawling nature of the town, and lack of frequent, reliable public bus service, leaving the neighborhood is problemmatic for children of this age. Three primary modes of transportation figure in their lives, each taking them an increasing distance from their homes. Most often, being older, these teenagers may generally walk or bicycle out of the neighborhood, along and across major traffic streets. They are not, however, allowed to cross the two limited access highways that cut through Westville. Within the range of normal walking and biking, most of the adolescents have favorite destinations other than the houses of friends in other neighborhoods. Three go to their old elementary school, which is closer than the middle school, play in the playground, and sometimes talk to old teachers. Many live close to shopping centers to which they can gain access without crossing a highway. These children often walk or bike to the centers to get ice cream or other food and to look in small clothing and other stores. One "mall" has pinball games that one of the adolescents especially enjoys.

In no case did we see the adolescents associating in large groups at any of these places. They do not "hang out" with a number of friends, but rather use the places for mission-oriented visits, usually with one friend or possibly two. But some of the adolescents are limited by the remoteness of their neighborhood and rarely frequent the shopping centers and school playgrounds.

Their own neighborhoods, nearby shopping and school areas, and the routes to them are the major places that the adolescents frequent when going out alone or with friends. Other destinations involve greater distances or crossing the highways, and no parents allowed the adolescents to use these roads. The third extension of the adolescents' territories occurs with the assistance of parental chauffeurs. Parents drive their children to synagogue and Hebrew School, to other forms of instruction and sports activities, to larger shopping centers, to movies that they want to attend with friends, and to other friends' homes who live outside of the neighborhood. Going to the major shopping malls occurs infrequently and remains a special event for the adolescents. On the other hand, parents are not reluctant to drive their children to friends' homes or to various organized activities outside the neighborhood. Thus these teenagers remain remarkably dependent upon their parents for access to many significant settings in their lives.

2. Schedules: Daily, Weekly, and Other

The pace and components of these youngsters' lives are fairly consistent from week to week. Although some have more activities and some less, Patty's description gives us the flavor of a typical day and week:

> I get up in the morning. I get dressed, I go and brush my teeth, wash my face. I come back to my room and put on some makeup. I go downstairs, I have breakfast and my friend and I go down together and get on the bus. I go to school, go through seven periods and get on the bus, come home, and have a snack while I read a book. Tuesday and Thursday I go to Hebrew School and I come back and eat supper and do my homework. Friday I have a [sports] lesson and after that I come home and have a little supper and maybe call up a friend and see if she can come over, or sleep over, or just come over a little while and just busy myself for the rest of the night. Monday and Wednesday I usually read until my mother comes home, or I do my homework or go outside. Then we have supper and I do my homework and I watch TV and go to bed...Now I start a program on reading comprehension on Wednesdays.

During the week the adolescents attend school, arriving home each day about 3:00 p.m. They all have a snack after getting home. Those whose mother is at home often talk with her about the day during the snack. Two of the adolescents take care of siblings after school: Patty (above) watches her sister Mondays and Wednesdays until her mother gets home, and Sonya looks after her brother everyday for half an hour until her mother gets home.

Two days a week the adolescents attend Hebrew School. They have one to one and a half hours until they must leave for Hebrew School. They usually fill this time reading, going outside with block friends, watching television, or doing homework. Some of the adolescents have after school activities at the school, such as gymnastics, band practice, or theatre practice, which means they do not get home until 4:00. If this is so they have very little time until Hebrew School, and as Dick says, just "hang around" until it is time to go. After Hebrew School the adolescents usually eat dinner and do homework, after which they watch television before bed. Bedtimes are between 9:00 and 10:00 p.m. Often they have half an hour to settle down in their rooms reading, writing letters, or listening to music before they go to sleep.

If there is no Hebrew School the adolescents may get off the school bus at a friend's house for the afternoon, expecting a parent to drive him/her home later. Sometimes a boy or girl "eats over" at the friend's house, even during the week, and goes home afterward. If they do not visit at a friend's house or have activities at school, the youngsters watch television, do homework, engage in hobbies or sports, attend bar mitzvah training sessions with the cantor, take other kinds of lessons, or spend time with block friends walking, biking, or hanging around in the neighborhood. Only one adolescent has a regular job, which is delivering papers after school. Some of the girls, however, babysit during the week. Generally evenings are devoted to homework, bar mitzvah practice, and watching television.

During the weekends the adolescents are also quite busy. Frequently the girls sleep at one another's home. They often spend part of the next day together going to the shopping centers, movies, or just in the neighborhood. But as this is bar mitzvah age, they often have bar mitzvah services on Saturday morning, followed by a party in the afternoon or evening. On Sunday morning they all attend religious school at the synagogue. Two of the families frequent Friday night religious services with their adolescents. A good number of the girls and a few of the boys babysit on weekend nights when they do not have other activities. Sunday afternoons and Saturdays without bar mitzvahs are filled by hobby and hobby lessons, family outings (e.g., a trip to Boston), or family chore projects (e.g., cleaning out the garage).

Another major weekend activity is visiting and hosting grandparents and other extended family members. Most of the adolescents have at least one grandparent within an hour's drive. Many of the other grandparents live in the New York area and visits to them are frequent. The structure of the adolescents' lives can be understood not only in terms of recurrent weekly activities, but also in terms of the intermittent Jewish holdiays, school vacations, long weekends, and other holiday breaks. During such intervals trips to see extended family are very likely. A few of the adolescents whose grandparents live far away write frequently to them, telling them what is happening in their lives. Overall, there is considerable monthly contact with grandparents for the adolescents. Only one adolescent does not have this contact because her grandparents are no longer living. But for the most part, parents make great efforts to keep in touch with the children's grandparents and to bring their children into contact with them also, especially if they live nearby.

Usually these contacts occur in the form of visits to the grandparents' home, where the adults talk and the adolescents engage in television-watching and eating. If cousins are present, they often play with them. Jewish holidays are major times for families to get together in this manner.

Other than family get-togethers, there is not a great deal of one-to-one interaction between the adolescents and their grandparents. Larry's grandmother visits his home twice a month, but few others live close enough for the adolescents to drop by and none mention doing this. The extended family is a significant part of the adolescents' lives, but not of their day-to-day existence in terms of direct contact. A few report some individual activities with grandparents, such as going to the movies and being taught how to swim and other sports. One grandfather made a doll house for his granddaughter. Usually, however, contact with grandparents occurs during family visits.

Taken together, the various components of the youngsters' lives make for a schedule in which time is filled up to a large extent. Having time filled up is such a common experience for ten months that when summer comes structuring this period becomes a major issue.

Seven of the fifteen adolescents go away for the summer for eight weeks to camps in which their days are structured around various activities. Eight weeks of camp leaves very little unfilled time during the rest of the summer, but as Laura says if she gets out of school on Friday, by Wednesday she will be bored. Two years ago Laura signed up for only four weeks of camp in the second half of the season, but became so bored that her mother called the camp to see if she could come early. Vacation times are also problemmatic because of the amount of unstructured time which consequently became boring for the adolescents. Larry talks about a vacation week:

> On Monday he had gone to a ball game with his dad and a friend, but otherwise there had not been much going on. One of the friends present said that he wished the vacation was over and they were back at school. But then he added that it would be Friday and they would have a weekend to look forward to. During the time with Larry and his friends, they were just hanging around the garage. Every so often they would say, 'So what do you want to do?' They indicated that they spend a lot of time deciding what to do.

Larry's observations and experience are characteristic of most of the adolescents. If they do not have structured activities they become bored and do not have great numbers of ideas of what to do, even with their friends, when they must fill in a whole day.

Camp, in providing various activities throughout the day, provides the kind of balance between structured activities and limited free time that the school day provides. But the activities are leisure- and religiously-oriented. Laura's camp has religous classes in the mornings and sports and crafts in the afternoons. Saturdays at camp require attendance at morning religious services. The different camps have different mixes of activities but the majority consistently provide for a balance of required activities and unstructured time.

Rachel emphasizes the importance of structured time for the adolescents in discussing why she and her parents have decided that she will attend a different camp:

> I asked Rachel's mother how she could stand having Rachel gone all summer. She said that they really miss her but the kids see the summer as just time stretching out before them with nothing to do. The camp they have now chosen has lots of activities: hiking, canoeing, skiing, sailing, and other things that all the girls have to do. At her last camp the kids could pick what they wanted to do and they all chose to sit around talking and then complained because they were bored. Here they have some free time but most of the activities are required. It's really like an outdoor school for the summer.

During this conversation with Rachel's mother, Rachel was elaborating and concurring with her mother as to the problem with the other camp. She was angry that the camp personnel let the campers choose what to do. She said that is not organized enough for her. The adolescents feel comfortable planning a few hours a day by choosing among listed choices what to do. But when they have to fill weeks of time over the two and one half months of summer they cannot imagine how to do it, and camp eliminates this overwhelming challenge for them.

The extent of the variety of activities necessary to keep the adolescents unbored becomes clear when we realize that Larry, who could not figure out what to do during vacation week (above), lives adjacent to a pond where he can canoe, has a swimming pool and a tennis court in his backyard, friends with whom he can play street games, and still is bored. Similarly, Penny has a pool, a motorbike, a bicycle, and horses to ride and jump, yet says that "home is boring" and spends most of her time watching television. Structure and variety are therefore important in the lives of the adolescents.

During the summer, even the youngsters who stay home structure their lives with activities on a daily basis. Lila and Penny have daily hobby lessons and spend the rest of the day swimming in their pools. Alan's parents do not want to send him away to camp, so he attends a daily baseball camp instead. Peter joins a theatre group that puts on plays and plays in an organized baseball league as well. John is a junior counselor in a day camp, and attends overnight camp for some weeks. Susan does not have organized daily activities but babysits three days a week and goes to a pool down the block also. In addition she stays with her grandparents for two or three weeks and travels with her parents an additional two weeks.

Larry is the only adolescent who had no organized activities planned for the summer following our contact with him:

> The family will be going away for two weeks in the middle of the summer. Most of Larry's friends will be here during the summer. He has not decided what he will do this summer, but he feels that it will work fine and he won't be feeling like getting back to school at the end of the vacation...He feels he'll have enough to do and isn't worried about being bored.

Larry, as we noted, has a variety of activities available to him at his home. If his friends are available he will be able to get through the ten weeks without boredom and the paralysis of decision-making that occurred during the week-long vacation. But if we look at two adolescents with whom we met a bit during the same summer, we wonder. Lila daily engaged in gymnastics but was still unhappy because the rest of the day there was nothing to do. She spent it alone at her pool. She says that all her friends are at camp and tells of a letter from one who said she hated camp and was going to ask to come home. Lila hoped she would, but the friend did not return.

We saw Richie also before his camp began, when he was with a friend:

> After we talked for a while Richie looked over to Joe and said, 'You look pretty bored.' I asked them what they had been doing before I had arrived. Richie said that they had been riding around on their bikes and on the motor bike. Joe made a joke that we could go play kick-the-can now. Richie suggested that we could go get ice cream. I asked him if that was his summer pastime, eating. He said it was, that there wasn't much else to do during the summer. Joe again sarcastically suggested we could play kick-the-can. Later, they flipped through the TV Guide for HBO looking to see what shows were going to be on that week. They were attracted to the R rated movies. Richie invited Joe over to see a movie with him that night. Later we rode bikes to an electronic games center in a restaurant where we got drinks.

Richie and Joe manage to do a number of things during this day. They also seem to have that bored, aimless quality that also marks Larry's vacation time when the friends couldn't decide what to do. Lila is especially bored without friends, but even with friends without a structured schedule the adolescents slide from activity to activity, all of the sort that provides immediate gratification: riding bikes, eating, watching TV, and playing games.

Although each of the adolescents is different and so their capacities to entertain themselves also vary, the fact remains that they function best with only small amounts of time to structure themselves. We could understand, then, one reason why the lives of these seventh graders are so busy and scheduled. Yet their time was not so structured that the adolescents had no choices as to what they would do, day-by-day.

3. Organization of the Home

All of the adolescents live in single family dwellings that their parents own. All but two live exclusively with nuclear family members. In one home, an uncle co-resides, and in one the family is visited twice a month for a few days by the grandmother, who has her own room in the house.

All the homes are situated on at least a quarter-acre of land, usually more. One home is more like a small ranch, with horse stalls, a corral, jumping areas, and large unused portions. All the homes except this one have a two-car garage; all the families own at least two cars. Families with college-age children often have additional cars belonging to these children.

The homes are generally built on two levels. In some the bedroom areas are upstairs, but in others the first level is a basement/den and the bedrooms are on the same floor as the general living area, usually off a central hallway. All the homes have a living room, dining room, and two, three, or more bathrooms. The living room and dining room are used for entertaining and are not frequented by the families. Instead families gather in the den where the television is located. In only two homes is the television located in the living room; one of them does not have a den. In the other homes the den is either a separate room on the first floor or converted space in the basement.

The den is the most heavily used room in most homes. The whole family gathers here to relax and watch television or listen to music. The adolescents spend a lot of time in this room with their families, primarily watching television. One adolescent does her homework in this room in front of the television. Some homes have a basement recreation area in addition to the den. The basements are also used for storage and tool and woodshop rooms. Some have recreational equipment such as weights, ping pong tables, pool tables, and model railroad sets. They also often have chairs and couches used during parties, and a play area.

Generally these homes have four or more bedrooms. All but two adolescents have their own bedrooms. This constitutes the adolescents' private space where he/she listens to the radio or stereo, reads, does homework, and visits with friends. Siblings also generally have their own rooms. Often the house has an extra room used as a guest room, sewing room, office, and (in one case) game room for the children.

The other central family room of the house is the kitchen. All but one of the homes has a table in the kitchen around which the family generally eats the daily meals. The home without an eating area in the kitchen has a walk-in kitchen adjacent to an eating area that can be considered a casual dining room. These two spaces are used as one room by the family. Adolescents not only eat in the kitchen, but also enjoy after school snacks and talks with parents here, and do homework at the kitchen table. More than any room the kitchen is central to the family life, as discussed in the "Family Life" section of this report.

Finally, the front and back yards of the homes are used by the adolescents when with friends or playing alone. Most of the homes have a basketball hoop. Many have swings. Three homes boast built-in pools, one a tennis court. The adolescents play sports and games in the backyard or in front, on sidewalks and driveways. They also relax and sun on the patios and decks in the back of the house. Most homes have a patio, deck, or other area that can be used for outside entertaining. All have a barbeque.

From the point of view of the adolescents' utilization of their homes, the important areas are the private spaces in the bedrooms, the outdoor playing areas, and the family rooms consisting of kitchen and den. The adolescents spend most of their time in these spaces when at home.

On the whole, the adolescents experience their homes as clean, neat and organized, but consider themselves minimally involved in the maintenance of the household. They state that they are "not responsible for anything," "My mother does it all," "I'm not expected to do anything," "I have a few jobs to do," etc. In both the adolescents' and our perceptions, the mothers are primarily responsible for household maintenance, laundry, and cooking. One mother somewhat regrets that:

> The kids don't help much. I was probably wrong about not insisting that they help when they were little but I found it easier to do it myself, and faster. Now they don't think of it as their job, and anyway if it's a nice day I wouldn't want them to stay in and clean.

Another mother also indicates that she is primarily responsible for the house:

> She indicates that her husband doesn't help much. She made the mistake of saying when they were first married that she would stay away from his work and he should stay out of her kitchen. She hasn't been able to get him back into the kitchen since.

John indicates that "I'm not expected to do anything. My mother is in charge of cleaning the house and doing the laundry and cooking and the dishes." Lila states, "I don't help out. My mother does it all." Peter, seeing that his room has been cleaned says, "Oh, my mother must have cleaned it." Laura fights with her mother "if my clothes aren't clean and I told her I needed them clean." When asked why she did not clean them herself, Laura says that her mother "won't let us use the washing machine. She says that our separate laundry is not enough to make a load." Finally, Kate sees it as the mother's role to do the housework. In discussing how her father does not help in the house and her mother has many cleaning chores, Kate states, "Hah, well, that's what a mother is for...That's what she married my daddy for...That's part of a woman's job...Men shouldn't be expected to pitch in...If I'm rich I'll get a maid."

Whether or not all of the adolescents see it as the woman's role to do the housework, in all but one of the homes the mother is in charge of household maintenance. In one home the husband helps with all aspects of the housework and the husband and wife have a planned system for getting it all done. In another home, the father consistently helps to set the table and do the dishes. No other men were observed or reported to help the mother consistently. In one home prior to a holiday period for which much cleaning and cooking was required, the fieldworker entered and saw the mother racing around doing laundry, cleaning, and cooking while the husband relaxed watching TV sports. The only consistent maintenance role the men seem to have is to care for the lawn and other outside areas. Three of the fathers are reported in charge of these tasks. None of the mothers are reported to do outdoor tasks.

Given this sex difference between the parents, it is not surprising that we found similar sex differences among the adolescents in terms of how much they help with housework. In general, the youngsters see their contributions as negligible, although some perform a few chores. The boys universally contribute very little. John says that nothing is expected of him. Dick's mother gave up trying to get him to help out because he "gave her only sarcastic remarks and I don't believe in hitting him or sending him to his room where all his things are." In Peter's home his sisters are responsible for getting dinner prepared; he was responsible for cutting the lawn. When his mother asked him to help with the cooking one day, he did not pay attention; his mother left and said she'd do it later. Only one boy has daily or weekly chores in the house: Larry is supposed to vaccuum a room daily and help set the table. However, he rarely does these tasks and experiences constant friction with his mother over them. Finally Richie is in charge of the garden. Taken together, only one adolescent male is routinely expected to take part in interior maintenance.

On the other hand, most of the girls have regular jobs. All are responsible for keeping their rooms neat and dusted. One girl must wash her own bedding and clothes; she and another are responsible for changing their sheets weekly. Another girl is responsible for some vaccuuming and cleaning one bathroom; others help set and clear the table and wash the dishes (usually by putting them in the dishwasher). In the girls' families these meal-related chores are rotated or distributed among both male and female siblings. Finally some of the girls care for their pets. One girl feeds her dog. Penny, whose family has horses, is on a rotating schedule with her siblings who also use the horses, for the care of the animals. Each rider is expected to care for the immediate needs of the horse after a ride.

In addition to their regular assignments, the girls at times help in other housework if asked to do so by the mother. Thus, Susan dusts in the mornings if she has time before school. "In the morning my mother says, 'Well, you've got time; dust or do this'." Other adolescents claim to assist with vaccuuming, cleaning bathrooms, and setting and clearing tables when asked by the mother. These requests are not seen by the adolescents as things they normally do, but as deliberate assistance to the mother. Often, however, they are asked to help and refuse or ignore the parent or simply do not get around to the job. That the mother makes these requests and usually assigns chores probably contributes to the children's perception that housework is primarily the mother's responsibility.

Thus, both boys and girls perceive themselves as doing very little around the house, but the girls have a few regular jobs they perform. Yet none of the girls feel these jobs are too many or burdensome, and most feel that the distribution of chores is fair. We may understand this in terms of the way chores are distributed within the individual households. Although males and females perform different tasks, within a household they are equally or reasonably assigned. In Kate's home, "There are three jobs and we each take one." She and her two brothers each do one of the three jobs; in addition all have to take care of their own rooms and help around the house. In Penny's home, everyone who uses the horses must care for them and as the father said, "We don't bother them too much about their rooms." Sonya interprets the distribution of work in her home in terms of age. Although she does more, she is older and can do more, so it is fair.

One would not expect the boys who do little or nothing to see the situation as unfair to them. But Susan does sense inequity in the balance of things in her home. She states:

> James! He never has to do anything. He's gotta read...I just dust...His job is reading.

Susan experiences her brother as doing nothing. The fieldworker observed the mother asking James to help with household chores, with which he complied.

Whether or not on a day-to-day basis the chore distribution is equal, in general the adolescents feel that no more is required of them than of their siblings and friends. Overall, they perceive few demands on them for help. In their view, the mother should and does take care of the house, with minimal assistance from her teenage children and her husband.

Another aspect of the organization in the home is the manner in which the family decides what to do and what to acquire. We have seen that in the area of household chores the mother is the primary decision-maker and director. The mother determines what tasks need to be done and parcels them out; if they feel like it, the children and father do what the mother asks to help her out. In the area of household maintenance, there is little discussion as to what needs to be done.

However in other areas of decision-making that we observed this is not true. Generally, options for buying, vacations, and parties; about what the adolescent would be allowed or not allowed to do; issues related to parents' work; and even preferences for food to be served daily, are discussed openly between the parents and often with the adolescents before a decision is made. Susan says that "We get to say what we want for meals. Mom will call out and say, 'What do you want for breakfast'?" At Laura's home the mother sometimes calls the father to tell him what she plans for dinner and to see if it's acceptable. One afternoon, Lila was watching her mother make two meat pies with spinach for dinner. "Lila said she hated spinach and wanted hers plain, so after two or three pleading statements her mother made one without spinach." These three examples display the three main forms of talk in the decision-making process: asking for initial input before a decision is made, consulting with another to see if a decision is acceptable, and trying to convince someone who has made a decision to change his/her mind.

This last form of convincing occurs especially in two realms: decisions about activities the adolescent may engage in, and decisions about what to buy. In both, the adolescent and a parent who agrees with the adolescent have the power to convince the other parent who has made a decision contrary to their wishes. Even though three of the adolescents state that their father has the last word on purchases, what seems to be involved here is the common perception that fathers are less ready to spend money than mothers or the teenagers themselves. Though the fathers try to restrict spending, their determinations are not final.

If the adolescent and the mother can find a way to convince the father, the decision can be reversed. Thus Rachel knows that her father is unlikely to say,approve some requests, so she discusses them first with her mother. The mother, who is "better at convincing him than I," talks to the father for her. Dick describes a big conflict with his father, who is "a real tightwad with money." He and his mother "were conspiring" to get HBO for their television; together they argued with the father. Finally, the HBO salesperson told the father that he could get stock market quotations on the set, something the father wanted, and with this breakthrough the family acquired HBO. Purchases seem to be an area in which some fathers have greater control than the mothers seemingly because certain men are more likely to say no than others. This tendency does not occur in all of the families; it is most evident in the homes of Rachel, Dick, and Lila. Lila says that her father decides where they will go on vacations, because it is his vacation. Further, her mother does not like winter holidaying and believes that he knows more about such things. So he chooses a place he will enjoy, and they all agree.

Lila indicates, along with several other adolescents, that they see their parents as making decisions together by talking to one another. Jerry states that "I used to think that my father made the decisions but I started watching them and found that they decide together." John says, "on major things my mother and father will confer." Lila emphasizes that in making decisions about buying a new house or family problems her parents either do not inform her or simply announce that they will be buying a new house. Although Lila cannot change their minds on such major things, for example not to move, "Her parents would try to tell her all the reasons she should like to move, or that moving would be fun."

Decisions made by the parents alone that affect the adolescents' lives are not usually presented to them arbitrarily. Rather, they are explained and arguments are offered to convince them of the rightness of the choices. In this way, the adolescent is treated similarly to a disagreeing parent, although he/she knows that the decision is almost certainly unalterable. In such instances, the adolescents realize that their feelings are being taken into consideration. Susan describes the decision-making about where to go on vacation:

> Susan said that she didn't want to go to ______ but had wanted to go to Florida, where they were originally going. They usually traveled with another family with children her age and they were going to Florida. But Susan's parents didn't want to go to Florida again so they decided to go their separate ways. This upset Susan, but in their discussions about the trip her parents listened to what she said and took her statements seriously, although they still decided to go to _______.

Though the parents did not change their plans they discussed the vacation with the children so the latter knew why the decision was made. They also listened to the youngsters' arguments before making the final decision. Susan thereby feels heard on the topic and knows that on other matters she can convince them. For example, her parents formerly had dinnertime discussions of the father's problems at work. Susan says that now "My parents don't ever talk about the father's work--anymore, because we told then that we didn't understand what they were saying and it wasn't right." Similarly, Patty and Penny wanted their own rooms. Both houses had extra rooms used by parents as offices. Because Penny was fighting with her sister so much, the father agreed to give up his study. Patty's mother said, "Okay, you can have your own room, but I have to have a place for my desk. So as long as I can have my desk there you can use the room for your bedroom."

As we will see in discussing decision-making as it affects the adolescents' day-to-day lives, they are able to influence parents to change their behaviors, to allow them to do much of what they want, and to acquire much of what they desire. The adolescents generally recognize that they have little power to influence decisions about "big things," but considerable influence over things that affect them directly in the routine of living. Even in the big decisions, however, the parents take the adolescents' feelings and desires into consideration. In some homes it appears to the adolescents that the father has more influence than the mother, mainly because he more often says no. What is true overall is that no member of the family is powerless to influence some of the decisions in the home. Moreover, discussion between parents, and between parents and adolescents, is seemingly always an aspect of family decision-making in these homes.

4. Influence Distribution in the Family

In analyzing relationships between parents and adolescents one invariably comes to speak of parental influence on the adolescent. In this section we will discuss the Home Climate variable of Influence, its connection with parental involvement, and how parental influence seems to be built in part upon parental involvement in the adolescent's life. We will also explore the Home Climate variable of Structure, as expressed through the adolescent's role in decision-making in the home.

There are at least two vantage points from which to understand parental influence in the adolescent's life. One is the adolescent's own perceptions of parents as influencing, controlling, and otherwise constraining him/her. A second is the observer's description of parental behaviors that limit the child, and of adolescent behaviors that point to deference to parental authority. We observed that the majority of parent-child interactions manifest or implied some form of parental influence. In addition, the adolescents reported numerous areas of their lives in which they were required to gain their parents' permission before acting, as well as additional areas in which they were less directly influenced by their parents.

Over the course of our field work we were increasingly astounded at the range of situations about which the adolescents consult their parents before taking action. In almost no area of life beyond the daily routine do the adolescents not seek some form of permission or opinion before engaging in an activity. Every adolescent except one informed his/her parents when entering and leaving the house. The majority ask permission to go somewhere other than home after school. Whatever the afterschool or weekend activity may be, the adolescent must be home by a certain time. Parents' permission is necessary before an adolescent can pursue a hobby because the parent pays for lessons and materials, and arranges transportation.

Friendships are dependent on parents' consent to transport the adolescent to each other's homes, and parents closely regulate what they take to be age-appropriate behavior and activities. They do not like the seventh graders to spend time with older eighth graders. Parents are consulted before any contact with the opposite sex is made outside of school, and give permission as to the form and place of such contact.

The type of movies, the types of books, and for some the types and amount of television is regulated by the parent. Parents are consulted about style, cost, and type of clothing the adolescents wear. Specific items of dress, such as high-heeled shoes, nylons, and makeup are subject to intense parental regulation. What the adolescent may buy with the parents' as well as his/her own money is determined by the parents. Inside the home, parents are consulted before taking food between meals. One adolescent even asked her mother if she could change into lighter weight clothing because she was warm.

Finally, the parents deliberately seek to influence the youngsters' behavior in areas such as sibling relationships, irritating habits, manners, and decorum in the home. There is almost no aspect of these adolescents' lives that the parents are not trying to influence.

When we speak of parents permitting behavior and children asking permission to proceed we must be aware of the various sources of such interactions. Kevin asks his mother if he and the fieldworker can go to the shopping center; "Kevin's mom said it would be fine to go, but he had to be back by five because his brother had a game that day and they had to eat early." During an outing, Ellen and Debra ask the researcher what time it is; being 5:00, they say they had to get back for dinner. Fay's mother informs her that "you can ask your friend over now if you want. You have an hour before Hebrew School." Alice asks her mother if she can go for a walk with the observer; her mother says, "You have a half hour before gymnastic lessons, so don't go far."

In these observations we see the adolescent asking permission to engage in legitimate activity at a particular point in time. The permissibility of the activity is not in question, rather the engaging in it at a particular time. These adolescent requests and parental "lettings" are related to the adolescent's embeddedness in family life. Because Kevin is expected to go to a game, he must be home for an early dinner. All the seventh graders (unlike their older siblings) must be home for and have dinner with the family. Thus they must be cognizant of the time, like Ellen and Debra, or they will receive punishment and angry reactions. The main point here is that the adolescents' activities are subordinate to parents' plans, for themselves and for the adolescents. Fay phones her mother upon arrival at Gail's home, because she is supposed to call when she gets there, but during the conversation she learns her mother's plans for the afternoon, reviews her own schedule as she has a music lesson, and determines what time she must be home. Similarly, before agreeing to stay longer with Heidi, Carol phones her mother only to discover that she must come home immediately for some family event.

Suggested here is that the parent has a particular agenda for the child that the child must work around. Gail's mother says that she wants to know where Gail is going in the afternoons so that if she has to do an errand with her she can just go by and pick her up. Beth consults her mother about a good time to meet with the fieldworkers as all of the adolescents did. Beth's mother replies that they might go visit her grandparents on the suggested day, so we should make it earlier in the morning. In speaking with Debra about a future date she looks on the family calendar to see if anything is scheduled, but in asking her mother we found that one date was better than another. On another occasion Ellen's mother "came out and asked if we had made an appointment."

Not only is the adolescent's planning of his/her own time subordinate to the plans of the parents, but the parents also keep track of the adolescent's activities, and are sources of information for the adolescent concerning what he/she is scheduled to do. This is most elaborately evidenced by Alice's life. Alice goes many different places to practice gymnastics, at different times on different days. This is in addition to her Hebrew School lessons and her pre-bas mitzvah practices with the cantor. Whenever Alice wants to do something she turns to a parent to see if she can. She is not so much asking permission as finding out whether the planned activity is possible given her schedule. Much of the asking and "letting" discussed here is not so much requesting and receiving permission as it is finding out whether a proposed activity will fit into pre-existing daily and weekly schedules made up of the youngster's chosen and required acitivites, as well as the parents' plans for activities that the teenager might not know about.

It is evident from the preceding that the adolescent does not have to make it his/her business to know what is upcoming on a day-to-day basis, since the parent keeps track of the adolescent's obligations for him/her. Thus one adolescent justifies not going to a friend's bar mitzvah by saying, "My mother lost the invitation," which is perfectly acceptable to the boy's friend since he shares the view that it is not a child's responsibility to keep track of his dates. On the whole, the parents kept track of when the adolescents were to meet with the researchers. Tom's mother did not, but became more aware of the dangers when Tom forgot his appointment and went for a haircut. After this, the parent chided Tom to "be sure and write down your next appointment." By and large the adolescents use their parents as their timekeepers and ask them for information about their schedule whenever they have to make decisions about going places.

Here we again see parental involvement as supporting adolescents' separate life. The parents know about the adolescents' plans so that they can ensure the youngsters meet their obligations. In addition, however, we observe the adolescents' imbeddedness in their families. They are expected to participate in family activities and to go places with their parents, and are not allowed to maintain fully separate lives. Neither are they spontaneously pushing to be in charge of their own time schedules. They do not evince movement toward the creation of separate, individual lives, at least in terms of taking responsibility for their own schedules.

The adolescent also asks the parents for permission because the youngster's activities are subodinate to the plans of the parents. This is particularly true when a mother is present in the home as opposed to being at work, for a mother at home can go places at almost any time. Generally adolescents whose mothers work have a good deal of freedom with certain guidelines about coming and going during the time the parent is away. They still have to be home when the parent is home, however. A good example of this contrast occurred when the fieldworker tried to arrange appointments with two boys, one whose mother is home afterschool, and one whose mother is not:

> Paul reacted when I was setting up a time to get together. I suggested that we could meet at 1 p.m. on Monday, which is the week of spring break. Paul hesitated before committing himself, saying shouldn't we check with our parents first. Lee seemed taken aback by Paul's comment and replied, 'I really don't think we will have anything else.'

Paul is used to checking with his mother concerning after-school activities. When leaving Paul's house to take a walk Paul made a point to go upstairs and tell his mom. He notified his mother of my presence and of what rooms we would be in. Lee's parents, on the other hand, are not home after-school, so that he is on his own at that time. On one occasion when his father was home sick he neither told him he was home or that he was leaving. Paul's comment about checking with parents first suggests that he does not define his time as his own. Lee's response reflects his recognition that the time designated is in the middle of the day during which his parents are working, so it is unlikely that they will claim it with an alternative activity.

Being in control of one's own time schedule--both determining it and keeping tract of it--is associated with increasing independence by both the adolescents and the parents. Tom states:

> He still felt that he had to ask his parents' permission to do a lot of things. The difference between the way he and his older brother related to his parents was that the brother can go on long bike trips walking out the door says, 'I am going ___.' For the same type of trip, Tom would have to ask his mom if he could do it.

Implicit in the asking of permission is the possiblity that the parent will say no, and the child will be unable to determine his/her own actions. Paul's mother associated schedule control with independence, speaking explicitly on the topic:

> Paul's mom indicated that she felt she may have been overprotective too long...Paul mentioned that a few years ago some of his mother's friends felt that she was being too overprotective and not fostering Paul's independence. She used to make all his plans to play with other children. Then she started to push Paul to become more independent and placed the responsibility for his plans on Paul. Paul mentioned that it seemed very sudden and he felt scared by it. They both felt that by then all the other children had developed such independence. In terms of a more recent example, the mother said that over spring break while she was working she let Paul do whatever he wanted just as long as he checked in with her as to where he was going. He made all his own plans and took a bike trip down to the 'castle' area, although she was concerned about the traffic down there. Paul minimized the danger of the trip.

In both of these examples (Paul and Tom's brother) the adolescent was able to determine his own plans as long as he "checked in" about where he was going. One of the basic rules in these households is that the adolescent ensures that the parent knows his/her whereabouts at all times. We can understand this rule in terms of the parent wanting to know where the child is in case of need to contact him/her. But analyzing the adolescents' discussions of what they refer to as "keeping tabs" on them a different function for this rule is uncovered. For example, Debra and the fieldworker went for a walk in the neighborhood. When we left she did not tell her mother we were leaving. When we returned her mother said, "Debra, you are supposed to tell me when you go out." Debra cringed and said, "Sorry." In later discussing this continuing point of conflict between her mother and herself, Debra stated:

> The other day I forgot to call her when I got home from school. She was worried. She made me go up to my room and write a note of apology to her. She told me that in the letter I had to tell her how I shouldn't have caused her worry...I felt that she knew there was nothing wrong, I had gone to visit my friend. She probably figured that I was either at someone's house or at the playground. She shouldn't worry, but she worries every five seconds...Usually when I'm not home, I'm at my friend's. So I figure that she should assume by now...If something happened, they would know about it. I would call them or someone would call them.

Ellen's mother also became angry with her "when I wasn't home when I was supposed to be." Heidi's older sister was grounded when "she stayed out all night and didn't tell her parents and they sat up all night worrying." Parental worry about the welfare and safety of their child seems to play a tremendous role in determining the rules and the permission-giving behavior of the parents. Recognition of a dynamic tension between the child's and parent's belief that the child must move toward greater control over his/her own life, and the parents' worry about the welfare of the child when unsupervised, helps us understand the rules, issues, and permission negotiations between adolescent and parents, as well as the evolution of these rules.

Child health and safety is a frequent matter of dispute between parent and child. Beth notes that "in the beginning, when they first moved to [this town] they lived on a main street and her parents were scared and she was scared to go out." Now she is allowed to walk down this street to the town center and generally around the neighborhood. Tom's parents "won't let him use the pool when no one is around...but he thinks he would be okay." Heidi's father "told a story of how he once let her ride a small motor scooter and it flew out from under her, but now she knows how to ride pretty well and he can trust her on it." She is not, however, allowed to ride at her will but must ask her father first for him to start it for her. Steve says that his parents treat him like a baby because:

> Sometimes there are things that I am able to do that they don't think I can, like wood work...Like last time I wanted to make something and I never got through, I just gave up. It seemed like Dad would do most of the work. I mean, I was doing the sanding and maybe a little bit of sawing and that was about it... he does have some rather dangerous things. I may think that I can handle it and my father will think not.

Carol's parents insist she wear elbow pads when skating. Ron's parents will not let him get a skateboard. Ron has a small motor bike but will not get a larger one until he masters riding and fixing the smaller one. All of the adolescents are limited as to where they can walk and take their bikes. None are allowed to ride on or cross the major highways that criss-cross the community.

In each of these decisions the parents are responding to their conceptions of the general dangers that the adolescent is attempting to circumnavigate, as well as to their appraisal of the general competence of the adolescent to handle these dangers and emerge unscathed. But the conditions they impose also restrict the movements and activities of the adolescent, who may want to go places and do things that involve some degree of risk. Whereas swimming alone and crossing a major highway on foot or bike are not advisable even for experienced adults, the other situations involve the possibility that the adolescent will develop a competency that will make the adult restrictions less necessary. As Heidi improves on the scooter, she uses it more. When Steve shows his father that he can safely use the woodworking tools, presumably he will be able to increase his use of them. When Ron demonstrates his competency with the smaller motor bike he will be allowed a larger one that is more difficult to handle. And as Carol gains skill at skating she will be able to skate with less protection.

The rules and decisions that parents make about the child's behavior vis-a-vis safety and well being are not absolute rules. Rather, the child's freedom increases as he/she demonstrates the ability to provide self-care. As the child changes, the rules and decisions and extent of parent influence also decline. What we begin to recognize here is that guidelines for the child's behavior and activities are determined not by the parents alone, but by the child and the parents together. As the parents gain trust in the child's competence and responsibility, they lessen their monitoring and restrictiveness.

Implicit in the evolution of parental rules and decisions is the goal all of them share of fostering the adolescent's control over his/her own life. As the parents give the child greater leeway or permission to do something potentially dangerous, they also worry about the outcome of the freedom. Thus Paul's mom "worried about the traffic" on a bike trip that Paul planned. But she was determined that he become more independent and make his own plans, and did not allow her anxiety to restrict his movements. But Steve's father worries about his son using the tools and does restrict his actions. Steve gives up his woodworking project and does not gain greater skill with the tools so that he can use them independently. Thus, worry pushes the parents to restrict the child while the value of independence simultaneously presses them to ignore their fears.

We see here a means for understanding the evolution of rules and decisons in the home. Fundamental to the decline of parental influence in the child's life is growth in parents' trust in the ability of the child to care for himself/herself without being hurt. As the parents see repeatedly that the child can handle something, they worry less about the child in that setting. But the adolescents are aware of this process also. As they show their competence in a particular setting, they expect the parents to worry less and be less restrictive. They also pressure the parents to relinquish control. Thus we may understand what occurs between Debra and her mother about after-school activities when her mother is at work. She says that her mother "should worry but she worries every five seconds." For Debra, her mother's worries are inappropriate because "usually when I'm not home, I'm at my friend's. So I figure that she should assume by now." Day after day Debra has been fine and had not gotten into or caused trouble. Thus she feels her mother should realize she can care for herself after school and not cause worry. The rule about calling after school, she feels, should be eliminated. She should be able to determine her own after-school activities, as does Lee, without checking in because she has demonstrated her ability to care for herself.

Similarly, Tom notes how:

> They used to bug him about where he was, keep tabs on him every ten minutes. When he used to play games outside with some of the kids on the block, they would all hide and it was invariably then that his mom would come outside and yell, 'Where are you, Tom?' He said that they kept tabs on him because they were afraid he might get into some sort of trouble because he was really wild and he might get into fights. A couple of years ago they stopped keeping tabs on him and in addition last year they let him take a bus up to _____ for a friend's bar mitzvah. He thought that represented a real change in allowing him to make such a long trip by himself...A couple of years ago he felt that he was being tested, that he had to prove to his parents that he could go unsupervised for some stretch of time. Now they pretty well trust him.

It is significant that Tom refers to his parents' observations in terms of a test, indicating that he is aware that how he acts on initial or trial outings will determine the decisions his parents make thereafter. All of the adolescents recognize this implicit process through which rules and decisions evolve: if they show competency, responsibility, and ability to care for themselves in situations demanding increasingly more of such capabilities, their parents not only will, but are expected, to allow further autonomy to the child. It is in part on the force of this mutual understanding that adolescents sometimes try to convince parents to allow them greater leeway. When Ron later states that he can convince his mom to give him a larger motor bike, we may presume that he has mastered riding and repairing the smaller one and that these achievements will influence his parents to buy the bigger bike for him.

Beth also uses this approach in convincing her parents to let her stay at a girlfriend's home for two hours, when her parents were going out.

> I say, 'Why do you treat me like a baby.' I'm thirteen years old and I like to make my own decisions.' So they say, 'No, you can't and you're not going,' and then I get mad and I run up to my room and when I think of something to say I come down and say it...Like I wanted to go to my friend's house. It was vacation and they were going out for two hours. So I said, 'Could I go to _____ while you go out?' And they say, 'No, I think you should stay home with your [older] brother.' And my brother had a friend over and I didn't want to stay home. So I said, 'Come on!' and they said, 'No! You're too young to go out and stay alone with your friend.' And I said, 'Mom I'm almost 13, and I think I should be able to stay alone in the house for about two hours.' She said, 'Well, I don't know.' I say, like, 'I babysit now and nothing happens.' She says, 'I'll think about it. Go ask your father.' He thought it was all right 'cause I got a little older, more responsible. So he said, 'Okay,' so my mom said, 'Okay.'

In her arguments Beth uses her ability to babysit and having been alone for two hours in another setting to convince her parents that she should be allowed to do the same at the friend's house. The adolescent will refer to comparable situations in which he/she has demonstrated a comparable ability or responsibility to convince parents to revise a rule or decision. When the adolescent is able to cite observable and potentially measurable behaviors, the parent seems more ready to relinquish control. As Heidi demonstrates her ability to ride her bike safely, she is allowed to do it more often. As Tom does stay out of trouble for increasingly long periods of time his parents relax their supervision of him. However, many areas in which parents make rules and decisions are not so well delineated as these. Nonetheless, in most families parents and children have developed implicit procedures for documenting and rewarding the growth of the children's capabilities.

Implicit in this process is the requirement that the parents overcome their worries about their child's safety and abilities. When the child feels that he/she has been sufficiently responsible, and the parent does not respond by ceding increased autonomy, friction between the parent and child develops, as in the case of Debra and her mother. Steve also believes that he is capable of handling the tools, but his father is not convinced and takes over Steve's project. Steve thus leaves the setting and is not able to share the activity with his father. He sees his father as unfair. Beth's mother (above) had a hard time overcoming her worry about leaving her daughter alone and only with the reinforcement of the father's judgement was she able to acquiece. When an adolescent decides that he/she is capable of doing something that his/her parents do not see them capable of doing, the youth is likely to brand the elders as overprotective and restrictive.

5. Evolution of Adolescents' Freedom in the Family

Most parents have rules about the types of movies the adolescents may see, basically those rated PG but not those rated R. The parent, even when the fieldworker escorted a child, insisted that the film be at an appropriate level for the adolescent. Beth states:

> My mother won't let me see _____ because it's rated R. I couldn't see an R unless my parents said it was all right. Like I could see _______; they did it PG except that they called a dog 'shit-head.' Now if they'd name the dog something else, then it wouldn't have been rated R...My brothers saw it the day before I saw it and they said it was all right...

The parents do not want the adolescents exposed to certain content in film and in books and magazines. Ron says, pointing to a pile of Playboy magazines, "My dad is different from other parents. Most parents wouldn't let their kids touch these magazines, but my dad lets me help straighten them." (Presumably, Ron is not allowed to read the magazines, however.) Fay's mother is upset that Fay wants to ready Mommy Dearest which she calls "trash." She lets Fay read it but she becomes very angry with her afterwards, asking why Fay wanted to waste her time with a book full of lies. Fay said that she convinced her mother to allow her to proceed by "telling her that I wanted to read it and that I knew it might be lies and I knew what it was about."

This media-screening is rooted in the parents' concern that the adolescents be able to handle psychologically certain kinds of material which, though harmless to an adult who understands that life is not as depicted in the media, may be emotionally harmful to a seventh grader. The parents must try to gauge what is potentially harmful to their child. The movie ratings help the parents as do statements by the adolescents showing that they understand the nature of the material. For example, Fay indicates that she knows Mommy Dearest could be lies but just wants to read it for "entertainment," which she says she obtained.

We may understand parents' decisions about the social situations the adolescents may enter in these terms as well. The youngsters seek their parents' permission to attend parties and to go out on dates with the opposite sex. Lee's parents weren't going to let him go to a school party because they thought it would be pretty much an eighth grade party. But Lee told them that it would be for the whole group, and finally they allowed him to go. The party turned out to have both seventh and eighth graders, as he had said. Asked why his parents were opposed at first, he said:

> I don't know...'cause those kids are going into high school and we stay another year...I didn't know what she was concerned about. I was staying out late a lot at first and she didn't want me to...She might think that the eighth grade kids are more into smoking and stuff and drinking, I guess.

Here Lee suggests that he believes his parents fear the older adolescents may act as a model for him to engage in behavior that the parents do not sanction, and provide him with access to cigarettes, alcohol, and the like. In initially restricting his action they were trying to lessen influences and situations that might encourage him to try out potentially harmful things. The restriction on the age of other adolescents with whom the seventh grader may associate with in groups is fairly widespread. The parents do not want their children to socialize with teenagers older than themselves. Particularly, they do not want them inolved socially with an older crowd.

Carol's parents will not let her have a boy-girl party at the house because "her brother had a seventh grade party and it was a flop." Gail regrets that she convinced her parents to let her go to a party they originally vetoed because "then I didn't have a good time." Carol also is sorry she swayed her parents to allow her to sleep over at a friend's because she "had an awful time." Beth gets to go on a movie date because it is "in the afternoon and they knew we were going with somebody else." The parents also drove the children to and from the movies. Some parents are beginning to allow their youngsters to go out with the opposite sex in double-date, day-time outings. Others are not.

In these examples it is clear that the parents are trying to regulate the exposure of their children only to various types of models, and also to insure that the experiences they have are positive. Overnights with friends, parties, and dating are potentially enjoyable or stressful, depending on how things are handled. In deciding what to allow, the parents must weigh these opposing possibilities. For example, most of them favor double-dates at the movies to single dates alone and at night. They must also predict what their particular child can cope with on an outing. These guesses are highly subjective, frequently leading to disputes and disappointments.

If we look back to Beth's original description of how she convinced her mother to allow her to stay alone with a friend, we see that she emphasizes that she stayed alone before and that "I'm 13 years old," after her mother had said, "You're too young." A criterion different from that of repeatedly demonstrated competence (discussed earlier) is being used in this instance, that of what is appropriate for a child of a particular age. Numerous activites are evaluated in terms of age appropriateness: being left alone in the house, dating, types of clothes, makeup, etc. Beth notes that her mother and her friends' mothers:

> All think the same; that we're too young to get heels, like some kids wear to school. My mom saw that once and she said, 'Well, why do they wear them?' and I said that they just want to and their parents let them. We went for shoes once and I said, 'Look at these,' and she said, 'No way! Forget it! You're not getting those.'

Beth's mother has a particular idea of how old one should be to wear certain shoes. In shopping for clothes parents look not only at fit but also at the appropriateness of the clothing for the age of their child. When Alice went to pick out something to wear:

> She tried on a blue blazer and loved it, but her mother thought that it was too bulky and that she looked too old and like a business person in it, so they got an off white one which Alice liked but didn't love.

Alice's mother bases her decisions on an image of how someone in seventh grade should look and dress.

But not only the parents' ideas of what is appropriate for the child to wear determine how they dress. Beth describes her shift from socks to nylons:

> So I said, 'Mom, I want to wear nylons.' She says, 'Well you look like an old lady,' and I said, 'Mom all the kids are wearing them.' So she says, 'Well, okay. You're kind of old enough now to wear them. Okay, we'll try them out, and if you don't like them you don't have to wear them.' And ever since then I've been wearing them.

Beth's mother is not sure that Beth is old enough for nylons, but she acquiesces to Beth's plea apparently because "all the kids are wearing them." Similarly, Fay influences the use of makeup by her friends:

> In ____ (where Fay lived before) all the kids wore a little makeup to school at her age. She wears eyeshadow, no mascara, maybe some lipstick, but her mother said, 'How was I to know that a few hours away they didn't wear makeup?' Other mothers were calling her up asking what was she trying to start by letting Fay wear makeup. Now all Fay's girlfriends wear a little makeup.

The appropriate age for certain behavior is not so clear cut that the parent can assume that what is acceptable in one part of the country is age-appropriate in another. Clearly the parents who phoned Fay's mother recognized that age-appropriate behavior is established not only by the parents' sense of what is acceptable, but also by what the peer group is doing. All of Beth's friends do not wear heels, but they all wear nylons; she now wears nylons. Fay started a trend permitting a little makeup for seventh grade girls. Age for dating, types of dates, and parties with the opposite sex as well as clothing and the use of makeup, are as often decided by what other peer group members are doing as they are by the parents' intuitive sense of age-appropriateness.

We need not understand this as the parents relinquishing control to the peer group. Rather, the parent is trying to allow the child to become involved in activities that he/she can both handle and derive positive experiences from. When parents see their child's peers successfully handling a situation they frequently conclude that their child is ready for the same situation. Thus Beth, who was not allowed to babysit, is now like her friends, permitted to do so. Further, by babysitting she shows that she is competent and reliable, is allowed related privileges, such as staying with a friend on her own.

We now see the parental influence cannot be understood as a static aspect of the parent-child relationship. The parents do not have a set of rules or standards that they use in determining the things they will let their child do. Rather, the rules are continuously evolving, and the child is allowed increasing opportunity to experience aspects of life requiring greater skill and psychological capability. Successful completion of such "tests" produces changes in the rules in force. In all cases the parents make the final determination of the child's maturity and of the appropriateness of proposed rules changes.

Part of this decision is based on the parents' intuitive ideas of what is appropriate for a person their child's age and part is based on their knowledge of their child's specific capabilities and psychological strengths. In this we see an important link between parental influence and parental involvement. Insofar as the parents are involved with their child, both interacting and communicating with him/her, they have knowledge of the child's life and how he/she is developing skills and coping with day-to-day aspects of life. This knowledge assists the parents in making more or less informal decisions as to whether to allow the child to engage in more demanding aspects of life.

In the preceding it is clear that parents do not simply decide to say yes when a child makes a request. Rather, the parental decision emerges out of various pressures. The parents may be pressured by their own friends and adults in the community to give their child more (or less) independence, as Paul's mother was advised by her friends. Parents' observation of the child's peer group may indicate their child, too, is capable of handling a particular activity, forcing them to think about whether the child is "kinda old enough now." However, the greatest pressure comes from the adolescents themselves, in their arguments that they are old enough and responsible, in their pointing to evidence from the recent past that they are to be trusted, and in their describing the freedom enjoyed by their peers. They continuously push the parents to allow them greater leeway and decision-making powers. The adolescents themselves therefore play a major role in determining the course of their lives, even though parents make the final decisions.

Each adolescent has a different way of persuading his/her parents to acquiesce to specific requests. Some, like Beth, employ a strategy of persistence. If they receive a negative response, they "go back a half hour later and ask again." Some, like Tom move from parent to parent typically beginning with the one who usually says yes. Some, like Steve, wait until their elders are in a good mood, or (like Paul) enlist the one who agrees to convince the parent who does not. Others, like Carol, "went up to her dad in her little girl voice and said, 'Dad, could I have some money for the carnival?'" When asked if this is really how she gets what she wants, she says, "no, its just a joke." However, the approach may affect his mood and dispose him to respond positively. Ellen says that she doesn't get everything she wants, but lots of it. She says, "she convinces her mother to do things by pouting and staring at her, and being very silent and withdrawn until she gives in; and she also yells."

When an adolescent pressures his/her parents the litigants usually do not rationally discuss the youngster's capabilities and the reasons that something may or may not be done. In addition to the reasoning, the adolescent makes his/her feelings clear through psychological and emotional pushing, a negative response to a request is seldom accepted the first time it is offered. This assertiveness by the adolescents is a prominent aspect of the parent-child relationship for all of the adolescents.

Through these techniques the adolescents get permission to do most of the things they want to do. Lee makes an interesting observation about this process:

> Lee referred to one kid at school whose parents would never let him do anything. He said that this kid always has to ask his parents' permission to do anything and they most often won't let him. He gave an example of going to a party and spending time with friends. Lee has to ask his parents' permission to do various things; the difference, he said is that they usually say yes. ...He said that he thought his parents were more lenient than other parents. It is not that his parents let him do more things than other parents, but he felt that they are easier to persuade, that when he wants to do something he doesn't have to spend a lot of time and energy trying to get them to let him do it. He gave the example of the eighth grade trip to Washington. He said he asked his parents now to see if there was going to be any hassle about it. He said it took them all of about two minutes to decide that it was okay. He said that other parents took about a week even though they eventually decided that it was okay. The point was that it took so much longer.

Lee observes that the parents of some of his friends take longer to give permission than other parents, including his own. Carol observes Heidi asking to bake a cake as an afternoon activity and her mother responding

"Okay" immediately, and laments that "my mother wouldn't let me cook that easily." Carol does not say that her mother would not let her cook unsupervised, only that it would take more effort on her part to induce her to do so.

The teenagers understood parental strictness in two ways. Lee sees his friend's parents as strict because they will not let the friend do most of what he wants. Alice employes the same idea when she describes "her mother as giving her more leeway than other mothers because she will let her help cook, and her friend's mother wouldn't let them touch a thing." But Lee also understands that parents differ in the amount of energy it requires to get them to give permission. This is the more dominant understanding of strictness than denial of permission. As Lee sees it, and as Ellen intimates, the parents usually say yes to the adolescent's requests although it may require more or less effort to achieve the affirmative response.

Are we to understand, therefore, that these adolescents are more or less guaranteed of getting what they want from their parents if they utilize the appropriate strategy for persuading them? If we look at the total number of daily requests by the adolescents, it is clear that the parents do say yes much more often than no. But if we also look at the types of requests that the adolescents make, we see that most of them are within the realm of possibility, having been granted in the past, like going to a friend's house after school, and pertain mostly to the scheduling of the event within the overall family context. The adolescent has a good sense of what the parent will say yes to, and asks for those things. So Ellen, whose parents spend a lot of money on her clothes, asks to have a new pair of pants and a ring, and a particularly expensive piece of sporting equipment. But Debra, who sees her parents as much more money-conscious, being unwilling to buy her everything, does not even consider asking for the same equipment. Beth proposes going on a date with a boy in the afternoon with another couple; she would never consider asking to go on a nighttime date, alone. Paul asks for a boy-girl party at home and although he is allowed to have other boys sleep over one night a week when his parents go out, it does not occur to him to suggest having the party on a night they are qut.

However, after showing responsibility when on their own the adolescents may ask for futher leeway the next time around. These parents are permissive; rather, they communicate well the things that are permissible in their homes and families. The adolescents understand these standards and ask for privileges within them. One of the conditions the adolescents seem to understand clearly is that if they show trustworthiness in one setting, they will be allowed greater freedom subsequently in that related setting. It is because they are so clear about the nature of this principle that they are able to argue so effectively for new privileges. They are guided by the parents' past behaviors, the implicit rule system, and their own past success and failure when formulating their requests.

The adolescent can predict most of what will be acceptable by their parents, but as a result they are also aware of that certain range of activities unacceptable. This understanding in addition to parents' actual decisions against allowing increased freedom for the children due to scheduling problems or the feeling that they have not yet earned it, clearly limits the children's range of behaviors. The adolescents are aware of these limits. In describing a parent as over-protective the teenager is accusing the adult of not permitting the child to do things of which he/she feels fully capable. When parents say no, the adolescent almost always becomes annoyed and resentful. Yet for the most part the adolescents do not desire to lessen the present extent of parental influence. Carol states:

> That's what mothers do. It aggravates you, but it's a good thing. They make you go to bed at the right time and they won't let you go, like you're too young, then they won't let you go to a good party or something, they don't let you just smoke...I think they're right but some of it I don't like...They're the right thing to do but I don't like them...because if they let me do whatever I want to do then most likely I'll do something I'll regret...I can't remember what but it happened a lot...like sleeping over at a friend's house when I had an awful time.

Like Carol, Tom feels that:

> His parents are fairly strict. They won't let him use the pool when no one is around and he can't stay over at a friend's house often. He realizes that they are doing it for his own good but he still doesn't like the restrictions.

Steve says about restrictions:

> If I think about it I know that they are really right.

Gail speaks of her parents' decisions:

> She knows it's what her parents think is best and often when they do give in she regrets it. She says, 'Why did you let me do that?' She talks of a party someone was having that she wanted to go to and finally convinced her parents and then didn't have a good time.

Beth also believes that her parents know what is best for her:

> Sometimes she treats me like a baby and I don't like it. But I guess it's right for me if she doesn't let me see a movie... I don't think its right for me not be able to go. But if they think its wrong for me to see it, then that's the decision... They know what's right for me.
> (Better than you?)
> Right.

Even Fay, whose family has the most rules, **evaluates** these regulations and their enforcement by saying that if "Their mother did not discipline them they would have food fights all the time and wreck the house and beat each other up and be wild." Finally, Alice states that her mother and she are "like this," holding up two fingers close together and that "we agree on everything, so what she chooses for me is what I want."

Thus, the adolescents usually see their parents' decisions as in their own best interests. Beth describes her parents as protectors. "She says that her dad protects her from things and she likes it, even though he could also be overprotective." Implicit in such statements is the adolescents' recognition that they do not fully trust themselves to make decisions that will be most appropriate. Further, in terms both of unanticipated outside dangers and their own misguided impulses, Tom knows it is foolish to swim alone, but he wants to. Carol thinks that she might "do something I'll regret." Gail remembers that "often when her parents do give in she regrets it and says, "Why did you let me do that?" Fay would be "wild" if left to herself. Not just the parents gain trust in the adolescent as he/she shows increasing ability to cope independently. The adolescent also acquires informal self-confidence as he/she is successful in increasingly more independent acitivities. The adolescents see parents' decisions as guiding them as well as restricting them.

What becomes apparent here is that even though parents and children skirmish as the child seeks permission to do something, these periodic and even frequent battles do not reflect a fundamental rebellion by the child against the parents' right to make decisions about his/her life. The adolescents want their parents to have influence on their lives; what they battle over is primarily whether the child can be trusted in a particular situation.

Moreover, the adolescents' statements that their parents know what is right for them indicate that they are not in a fundamental conflict about what is reasonable for them to be doing. At a very basic level, the adolescents suggest, and we also agree, that they have tremendous respect for the parents' knowledge and opinions. They see themselves as in agreement with their parents a good part of the time, perceive the parents' decisions as reasonable and based on sound principle. Thus, they accept these decisions and rules as equitable, even as they seek to change their parents' minds on specific issues and even as they occasionally break the rules.

6. Rules, Chores, and Discipline

We have described the evolving nature of the rules that the parents use to guide the adolescents' lives. A rule is a condition placed on the adolescent's behavior or activities; in part, it is a set of limits. In discussing the rules in an adolescent's home we may ask who makes them, whether or not they are absolute, and how they are enforced. Our previous discussion establishes that parents make the final decisions about limits to be placed on an adolescent but the teenager is able to influence those parental decisions. Thus, we may say that adolescent and parents together construct the limits on the child. This being so, it is not surprising that the adolescents are not overly resentful of the limits.

We have also seen that decisions change as parents increasingly respect their children's competence, and thus are not absolute, but evolving. At any point an adolescent may go against his/her parents' wishes and thereby break a rule, but the rules also change as the adolescent develops. The adolescents themselves recognize that the rules are not absolute and will change over time in recognition of their increased capacities. They know today that they may not go to a party or on a single date but they also know that within the next few years or months this rule will be amended.

For the most part, the rules in these adolescents' homes are of this evolving nature, rather than absolute, all-time restrictions. It is likely that this accounts for the adolescents' general conclusion that their homes do not have a lot of rules. Debra contrasts her home with a friend's, where "a list of rules that they have to obey is taped on their refrigerator." In speaking to Gail's mother the fieldworker asked about family rules and the mother said that "it must bother the kids to have so many rules." But asked what these many rules are, Gail can only think of two: she must not leave her younger brother alone in the house until her mother comes home, and she has to be in bed at 10:00 p.m. Fay, on the other hand, who says that her family has lots of rules, can list many of them: be in bed by 9:30 p.m.; no eating between meals; no jumping on the furniture; no fighting, physically or verbally, between her and her brother; etc. Heidi is aware of only one rule, that they are not to go in the living room with dirty shoes, do gymnastics there, or leave their things lying around. Tom's major rule is that he may not go swimming alone. All of the youngsters have to tell their parents where they were going, when leaving the house.

If we look at what the adolescents recognize as rules, we see that a rule is something absolute and unchanging. Fay is never allowed to go on the furniture or fight with her brother. Tom is never allowed to swim alone. As long as Gail's brother needs someone to look after him she will have to stay home (in her parent's absence), and as long as they live in the house the adolescents will have to tell their parents where they are going, even if they do not seek permission to go there. Rules are continuing limitations in the adolescents' lives, whereas parental decisions only set current limits that are going to change. Rules are not subject to change through persuasion by the adolescents; they may break a rule, but they are unable to get it eliminated.

The one rule that sometimes may be altered is the bedtime rule. Most of the adolescents do not have a specific bedtime rule enforced as it is in Fay's and Gail's homes. When Ellen and her family talked with the fieldworker past her bedtime, her mother said, "You don't have to go to bed;" depending on the circumstances, the bedtime rule changes. Even Gail has experienced change: she is able to stay up one hour longer than her younger brother, and looks forward to a later deadline when she is older. Debra's mother explains that "Debra has to go to bed by 9:00, or she is too tired in the morning to get up!" Debra concurs and says that she doesn't have to be asleep at 9:00, but can listen to the radio for a while. Heidi also says that "she has to go to bed by 9:30 or she can't wake up for school." Her mother says that she is usually in bed by 8:30 because she gets tired. At another time Heidi indicated that she goes to bed at 10:00. Neither the mother or daughter spoke in terms of a bed time rule but rather emphasized tiredness or special occasions as reasons for particular bedtimes. As parent and child learn how much sleep the child needs, the parent moves into a role of reminding the child what is necessary to function the next day. Since the bedtime rule is based upon the sleep needs of the adolescent, as these needs change the rule also changes or perhaps bedtime is no longer regulated by a rule. Rather, the parent reminds the child of the amount of sleep he/she needs. The bedtime rule may therefore be seen also as an evolving limit on the adolescent over which he/she gains control as he/she matures, needs less sleep, and takes over responsibility for his/her own schedule.

Looking back at the other rules cited by the children, however, we understand why they are likely to remain parentally determined, little influenced by the adolescents. The other rules have to do with safety and decorum. Tom's mother will not change the rule about swimming because it is always dangerous to swim alone whatever one's age. Gail's mother will not allow her to go out after school as long as her brother is too young to remain by himself. The rules about fighting with siblings, jumping on furniture, and picking up after one's self pertain to proper ways of treating persons and things in our society, and have been told to the adolescents for many years. Growing older and more trustworthy does not mean that they will no longer need to abide by these rules; if anything, the adolescents will be expected to behave more properly, since increasing maturity is not an argument for acting without concern for the safety and integrity of other persons and objects. The rules that we have been talking about therefore may be regarded as codified standards of mature behavior, through which parents seek to foster particular qualities in their children. They are another means by which parents may influence their adolescents.

Parents also attempt to influence the qualities their children develop through their decision-making. Some of the parents' decisions focus on the responsible use of money. They decide whether to buy the adolescent something that he/she wants, and decide whether to pay for it or have the adolescent use his/her own money.

Debra tells us that:

> She can only spend her own money with her mother's approval. For example, she wanted a silk blouse and her mother would not buy it for her, so if she wanted it she had to pay for it herself. But she could not get it because her mother said that she would still have to pay the dry cleaning bill.

Debra exemplifies a general rule in the families that the adolescent may use his or her own money to buy something the parent will not buy, but only with the parent's approval. Here Debra's mother withholds permission because she does not want a large expense cleaning the new clothing. Debra's parents generally allow her to get what she wants, "but it depended on how much it cost." Her parents have a sense of what is reasonable for Debra to spend on any item. These parents are also interested in whether the items the adolescents want to buy are reasonable and necessary. Lee tells of how he "and his brother bought a plant, and his parents told them to take it back because it cost too much and they didn't need it." Ellen states that she can often get what she wants but:

> She can't always have what she wants. Some things she has to pay for herself, like her camera, taperecorder, and a few stuffed animals. Her father decides what to spend money on, and if the thing she wants is reasonable and necessary she can get it; if not, she has to pay from her bank account.

Fay reports that her mother will not let her get new jeans even though hers are worn in the knees, because they are not worn enough. Her parents also will not let her get roller shoes. In an observation of Fay's younger brother trying to promote roller shoes we gain access to the parents' thinking:

> The brother tries to politely get around his mother by asking for new skates because his don't fit. She asks if he enlarged them all the way and he says, "Yes", and she asks if Dad looked at them. He says, "It is all the way, but dad didn't look at it." She says, "If they are too small then you can get new ones."

The mother will not let either child buy new skates until the old ones are completely outgrown. In addition, they may not have roller shoes presumably because unlike the old type they are easily outgrown in a year. In all of these examples, the parent is trying to avoid wasting money on something that is unnecessary, will be a continuing expense, or is not a practical buy.

Beth reports a discussion between her father and her older brother about spending money he had made on his job:

> My father gets mad at my brothers. They work and today my brother bought a TV with his two weeks pay. My father said not to, but he did. He said I don't want you spending your money like that. He had already bought a new stereo. My older brother is going to college and he's going to need his money. My parents aren't going to give him any money to spend because they know he has a job. It's not bad to buy things, but it's just that he should stop spending his money. He spends too much of it and its really bad.

Beth's father wants his son to think of future financial needs and not spend his money as he earns it. Beth herself supports her father's position. In their talk and through the decisions they make concerning money the parents serve as models for the adolescents in the appropriate use of money. Beth's father seeks deliberately to influence his son's spending habits, and does influence Beth's attitude. Steve's parents more directly influence his spending habits by putting him on a budget. From the fieldnotes:

> [Steve's parents told him that he would have to pay for his lunch (out of his work delivering newspapers), because they couldn't afford it anymore. ... My mother will sometimes say 'Now Steve, remember your budget.' when I am deciding to go somewhere, like the movies, and I have to pay for it.]

Whether the parents can in fact afford to pay for Steve's lunch, by making him responsible for paying for some of his needs they are teaching him to be aware of the value of his money. This is possibly what is behind the parents' willingness to let the adolescents spend their money on things that they really want but are unnecessary. In spending their own supply of money, they may realize that there is a limit to their resources. Parents' decisions to pay or not to pay to put the child on a budget, and so forth, deliberately or not, socialize the adolescent into thinking about money as a scarce commodity.

Thus, through their talk and decisions parents foster certain qualities in their adolescents and do not reinforce others, intentionally or not. Independence in planning and carrying out one's activities is one such quality; responsibility in the use of money is another. But a money sense and independence are not the only qualities the parents encourage in their adolescents. Most or all of the parents also try to influence various aspects of their children's social behavior. Alice's mother discusses reducing her gymnastics for a while because it "limits her social life." She is never with girlfriends and only socializes at school." Fay's mother won't let her phone boys because she "doesn't want her to be boy crazy." Beth's mother "bugs her about being overweight." Tom's mother became all aggravated with her son for not offering [the researchers] any strawberries when he helped himself. The son replied, "He's been here six times already. He's not a guest." Fay's mother won't let Fay's brother swim at a neighbor's house again because "we don't want to wear out our welcome." Jack was told by his mother that "it isn't right to bring the invitations next door. They should be mailed." As these examples show, parents seek to induce their adolescents to develop appropriate social relations and etiquette.

Through rule-making, rule-enforcing, and decision-making the parents foster a wide range of qualities in their children. We have discussed three that seem especially common: independence, responsibility with money, and interpersonal skills. A final area in which most parents attempt to direct the adolescents, and which figures prominently in parent-child conflicts, is that of task-completion. Here we do not mean responsibility for self-care, which was discussed earlier.

We refer to the fact that the adolescent's life includes various tasks which he/she is expected to perform. Some of these tasks are obligatory, like school, Hebrew School, and chores. Some the youngster chooses like participating in a class play or volunteering to be in this study. In either case, the adolescent usually must complete these tasks or components of them, according to some criteria. In observing parent-child interactions and listening to the adolescents' reports, we learned that most parents must devote considerable energy to getting the children to complete these tasks.

Fay's mother and Fay herself insist that she always "finish whatever she starts." When she commits hereself to a project or activity, her parents and she expect her to carry through with whatever that commitment entails. Thus Fay responded when asked how she felt about extending the fieldwork through the summer, "I want to see this thing all the way to the end. Whatever it involves I will do." The value of finishing what one starts has been transmitted to Fay.

The idea of accomplishing one's tasks is a major theme in Ron's relationship with his parents. Ron says that they "feel most disappointed in him when he doesn't complete a particular chore that they have asked him to do."

> He expects his mother to harp at him, 'Do you have your homework done? Do you have your bar mitzvah training done? Go do the stapling.' He figures he will get it done, but they are constantly bugging him about whether it is done at this time.

Responsbility for task completion involves not simply getting something done but getting it done by a particular time. Ron's parents, and others as well, seem to trust in the adolescents' ability to pace themselves correctly. Thus the parents constantly monitor and demand that the tasks be finished.

They do this monitoring in the same manner, as they monitor the adolescents' schedules and lesser obligations. Alice's mother speaks of this in terms of her responsibility as a parent:

> Alice's mother said that she was never organized. I commented on how organized she was now. She said that she had to work at it. Her mother had never organized things for her or remembered things for her, so she was always going to school without her homework or lunch or something until she was 25 and got herself organized. She had vowed that her kids wouldn't be that way, so she remembers things for Alice and keeps track of her activities.

This mother sees acting as an organizer and reminder for her daughter as part of her obligations as a parent. She therefore keeps track of the school work and other activities Alice has, inquires whether Alice has accomplished them, and reminds her when requirements are due and to deliver them on time. The parent in the role of reminder and organizer is a consistent theme in the adolescent's relationship with the parent, for the parent takes responsibility for keeping tract of the adolescent's dates and activities, for calling attention to how much sleep the youngster needs and the time of day it now is, for reminding them about homework and other chores that need to be done, etc. They do not expect the adolescents to organize and remind themselves about their commitments.

But we must distinguish reminders to the adolescents that something is due or upcoming from similar verbalizations which are attempts to stimulate the adolescent to get a task completed. Ellen and Debra state that they "can't tell their mothers that they have a report, because they bug them every moment about whether it is done." There is a difference between informing a child that something is due on a particular date or a chore to be done at a particular time, and continuously "nagging" the child until it is accomplished. Ron's parents "bug" him continuously about completing chores such that he calls them "pests." Ellen, in speaking about her father's behavior surrounding chores, states:

> He says, 'Go feed the dogs!' and you say 'No.' 'Go feed the dogs!' and you keep saying 'No.' 'Go feed the dogs!' and you go and you go feed the dogs. Then he'll give me this whole big thing about how he has to do everything, all my jobs, and I tell him he never gives me allowance anyway. He says she has to do the dishes and take out the garbage... 'Do your homework! Can't I just sit here for five minutes? No! You'll never get it done. Go!'

Ellen's father believes that Ellen will fail to complete her chores on time, and that she will never finish them, and that he will end up doing her assigned obligations. Unlike school work which has a due date and a poor grade as a consequence of poor performance, the deadline for many chores shifts according to parents' ideas of when the task ought to be done and their notions of cleanliness. Unable to wait for Ellen to do her jobs, the father does them and is angry. He seeks to induce his daughter to reform by yelling at her.

Beth, imitating her mother's reaction to Beth's failure to clean her room, says, "You should have cleaned up your room, but you didn't. Now we have to go clean up your room for you. That wasn't responsible." Beth's parents determined that Beth's room is dirty and order her to clean it but Beth may not have felt that her room needed attention. Chores frequently involve doing something at a time the parents determine it should be done with which judgement the teenager may not concur. Conflict between them often ensues.

Implicit in the examples cited thus far is the assumption by the adolescents that they should be the ones to decide when to clean their rooms, feed the dogs, or execute the chores assigned to them and which they classify as appropriate. Additional conflict arises when the parents determine that the child should do something and the child does not see it as an appropriate responsibility. We have already seen that boys regard household chores as the domain of the mother, and not as legitimate parts of their responsibilities. They may help out their mothers to be nice, but not because they feel they ought to assist around the house. One mother reports that she asked her son to set the table. She says, "because I am busy, he gives me a bunch of backtalk. He says, "No, I don't want to do it. I did it two years ago! It's just easier to do it myself than to ask him." Jack's mother asked Jack to look after the roast in the oven and began giving him instructions. Seeing that he was not listening she asked, "Are you going to do this?" "No," he replied. "Then I'll do it later," the mother says. The boys do not see domestic chores as legitimate obligations and thus refuse to perform them if they want to. Apparently most of the mothers also do not see help around the house as a bonafide responsibility for boys and thus do not attempt to enforce compliance. Tom and his mother, on the other hand, disagree as to what his responsibilities are:

> Tom said that conflicts with his mom focus most often on doing the vacuuming. She says he does the vacuuming half-assed. He is supposed to vacuum the one rug in the den once a day. He said sometimes she wants me to do it while I am playing with my friends. One time Tom just ignored her and didn't come in. At dinner she said they were still fighting about it and when she asked him to clear the dishes he refused and went up to his room. She followed and yelled at him and then pulled his hair and he yelled back at her. At this point his father came in and said the he shouldn't talk back to his mom.

Tom's mother has given him a daily chore which he does not want to do. He does not even indicate like Ron that he is willing to do it at a time chosen by himself. One has the impression that Tom does not see the job as a legitimate assignment. Tom's mother, on the other hand, does think that Tom should do this chore, and is caught in conflict with him as she tries to force him to accomplish it. The parent, in pressing the child to carry out certain duties, is attempting to teach responsibility for task completion as well as acceptable levels of cleanliness. But first the child must accept the assigned tasks as part of his/her responsibilities as appropriate to his/her age, sex, and role in the family.

If the parent does not wait for the adolescent to do a chore, or if the parent cannot convince the adolescent that a task is appropriate from him or her to do, the parent may end up being the person who does it. Parents therefore become involved in influencing their adolescents to complete their work in a third way, discipline. Through various techniques, the parents of the seventh graders seek to influence them to emit particular behaviors. One of the most difficult challenges for a parent is to get a child to do something against his/her will. Whereas through negative sanctions a parent can often stop an adolescent from doing something, applying positive rewards to produce desired behavior is much more difficult.

We have already noted the extensive reasoning that parents engage in to justify their decisions. The adolescents argue with their parents about these decisions but do not seriously object to whatever their parents finally decide about an issue. But with respect to chores and the techniques parents use to induce them to perform, all of the adolescents frequently experience anger and resentment. It is therefore interesting to note that reasoning is used minimally to assure the completion of chores. The major means of accomplishing this is to "nag," "hassle," and "pester" the adolescents continuously. These continuing reminders irritate the adolescent so that eventually he/she may do the task to end the "bugging."

When nagging is not effective the parents often resort to yelling, as did Ellen's father. Ellen suggests that when her father yells loud and long enough she does her chores. Alice notes that "when her mother yells, she has to do it and she doesn't yell back." Beth says that she does what she is asked because otherwise her dad yells. When he yells, you don t want to be in the room. Tom's mother also nags and yells but he ignores her and does not comply. Her yelling may then escalate into hair-pulling. Another mother threatens to hit her children and occasionally does hit them for lack of compliance. Finally the parents may utilize more aversive means than this. Fay reports that "I have to clean my room or my mother throws out all my things that are on the floor." Beth emphasizes now she cleans her room because once "her dad came in and ripped all the sheets off of the bed and dumped all the drawers on the floor, and left it like that for me to clean up." Neither girl wanted that to happen again and became more compliant when nagged and yelled at.

To attain chore compliance the parents use various forms of threatened and imposed negative consequences to induce the adolescents to act. Paul's mother is an exception; she said she no longer tries to get Paul to help around the house because she does not believe in hitting or sending him to his room for lack of compliance. Except in the areas of chores and serious rule-breaking, negative consequences are not often used by the parents. Beth states that she "doesn't get punished unless I do something really, really, really, bad!" This was the sentiment of the majority of the adolescents. Doing something really bad usually means not calling or coming home when required, for which the consequence may be grounding, loss of TV, or extra housework.

Causing the parent to worry, and endangering one's self, are the causes of these more serious punishments. But they occur very infrequently, and the adolescents do not see their parents as punishing.

Some of the parents express their expectations that the youngsters show increased maturity and responsibility by commenting, as Beth's and Gail's mothers do, on the girls "not being too responsible" about cleaning their rooms. Insofar as the adolescents want to feel more mature and responsible this may induce them to accomplish their tasks. But Beth's parents also pair negative consequences with this appeal. Debra's mother required her to write apology notes for causing her mother to worry when she did not phone after school to say where she was going. With such strategies the parents direct the adolescents to reasons for a rule and for the punishments that occur if it is broken.

Whereas reasons usually are given to help an adolescent accept and understand a parental decision, various negative consequences are most often threatened or used to enforce adherence to rules, such as chores and checking in after school. Even Heidi, who generally does do her chores, understands the implicit threat in the statement that, if she wants to have horses, she has to take care of them. But the use of negative consequences does not ensure the completion of tasks. The parents are still left to nag and yell to get the chores done. At the very least, they must remind often. The adolescents do not spontaneously take responsibility for organizing themselves so as to create time to do their chores. We understand this in part as a consequence of the adolescents not seeing chores as a legitimate part of their lives, in addition to competing with more interesting things like being with friends. We also recall that the adolescents take little responsibility for organizing their lives; it is not surprising that chores are not routinely included in their schedules. Lastly, we hypothesize that lacking valid reasons as to why they should do chores, the teenagers do not seek to become more reliable task-completers in this area.

In general, however, the adolescents accept their parents' decisions and with nagging eventually do their tasks and conform to other rules. Why do they do so? Running throughout the discussion in this chapter is the theme of the adolescents' quest for greater self-responsibility. They are interested in feeling and being treated as more mature and grown-up, and being free to do what one wishes is part of this maturity, in their eyes, at least. However, the parents see increasing maturity in other terms, as including involvement and reliability in the performance of useful tasks. Carol, however, points to a third and often overlooked correlate of maturity. In discussing her father's possible reaction to swearing in the house she says:

> She would get some kind of punishment like not watching TV. The fieldworker asked if that would be a big loss to her. She said, 'No, it's not that bad, but I like to watch TV. And then I wouldn't do it again.' 'Because you don't want to lose TV?' 'No,' she said, 'I just wouldn't do it again because being punished embarrasses me.'

For Carol, embarrassment rather than punishment is the negative consequence that causes her to obey in the future. The potency of the embarrassment stems from the association between being punished and being treated like a child. She does not want to be treated like, or to think of herself, as a baby, and thus avoids situations which might produce this embarrassment in the future. Implicit in Carol's remark is the suggestion that parents might deliberately associate chores with the responsibilities of maturity, and thus gain a more positive and productive means of gaining compliance than the use of negative consequences.

Another motivation is revealed in Beth's statement of her reasons for obeying her parents:

> When he says,'Don't do it again,' I don't do it again...'cause I don't like to disobey him because he's my father...Like, we're close and if I ever disobeyed him then we wouldn't be that close anymore...We're just really close.

All three forms of influence discussed--decision-making, the fostering of qualities, and disciplining--take place within the overall context of the parent-child relationship. Beth's parents use reasoning, appeals to be responsible, and negative consequences, but she says she obeys primarily to preserve the close relationship she enjoys with them. She feels that she would destroy this affiliation with her father if she consistently disobeyed him. Fundamentally, parental influence is exercised within the context of a cohesive relationship between parent and child. Through it, the parent gains the knowledge of necessary qualities to foster in the child that helps them to make correct decisions about the child's activities. But involvement also represents an aspect of the cohesiveness of the relationship. If the adolescent sees that his parents make reasonable decisions and also are involved with and care about him/her, the relationship with the parents is valuable. We must not underestimate the force of this closeness in motivating adolescents to do as their parents ask.

Finally, although the adolescents generally comply with their parents' wishes and are greatly influenced by the parents, compliance and influence are not unidirectional. As discussed earlier, through their reasoning and their willingness to evidence responsible behavior, the adolescents significantly affect their parents' decisions and the nature of the housework and other activities the parents actually do. The nature of this reciprocal influence process is discussed more fully above.

F. Personal Development

In this section we will focus on the learning environments of seventh graders, the social contexts in which they acquire knowledge and skills. We will examine both home and school environment, as well as other contexts in which children acquire skills and knowledge, emphasizing particularly the children's and parents' perception of school learning and performance, and the conditions within the home which they see as fostering school learning and performance. In addition, we will compare and contrast the children's experiences of school learning and out-of-school learning.

We will deal directly with three of the four factors within the Personal Development domain of the HCQ: School Learning, Out-of-School Learning, and Aspirations and Identity. Maturity, the fourth variable under Personal Development, was discussed in the previous section on Relationships, in connection with parental influence. We will also examine several factors from the SCQ which deal with students' perceptions of their school, i.e., Learning Orienation, Expressiveness, and Influence Distribution. Finally, we will discuss the children's understanding of the overall school environment.

1. Students' and Parents' Attitudes Towards Learning and School Performance

In this section we focus on the students' perception of the relative importance of grades and learning, and their evaluation of the meaningfulness and usefulness of what they are learning and of doing well in school. We also discuss parents' expectations for their children's performance in school. This discussion relates to the School Climate factor, Learning Orientation and to the Home Climate factors, Aspirations and Identity. Finally, we compare and contrast the children's experience of school learning and out-of-school learning.

What is the meaning of school learning to a seventh grader? Several of the items on the School Climate Questionnaire concerning the learning orientation of the school provide access to this area of their thinking. Ten of the Jewish students completed SCQ, at the fieldworkers' request. Of them, eight agreed with the statement, "Students here care more about good marks than what they learn." A second related item is "Learning is more important than marks in this school." Seven of the students disagreed with this assertion. One of the three boys who agrees with the second statement justified his answer with, "The teachers keep saying that, so it must be so." But does he himself really see learning as the central task of school? When asked why it is important to work hard in school, he answered "Because it is important to get good grades." Thus, although he is one of the three who assert that learning is more important than grades in his school, his answer to the item appears to reflect the teachers' ideology more than his own perception. He, like seven other students, appears to define the acquisition of good grades as his primary task in school.

Lee disagreed with the statement, "Learning is more important than marks in this school," and agreed that "Students care more about good marks than what they learn." Asked if this is also true for him, since the question asks about students in general, he replied, "I don't care what I learn, what counts is getting good marks." Comparing himself with how he was two years ago, Lee observed that "I guess more pressure has been put on me in school work...In fifth grade the teachers...don't grade you...They just give reports on conduct and spelling and reading; but there's no grades." He agreed that grades and pressure go together. He receives pressure from his parents, "but not just from my parents; from myself. I pressure myself to get good grades."

Lee clearly experiences school in terms of demands on him to do well. From his vantage point, getting good grades is the primary task of school, rather than what is learned. Looking at the other students' responses to the SCQ, we see that most of them agree with Lee.

Although Kevin indicates that his teachers keep telling him that "learning is more important than good marks," a story Ellen related suggests that teachers are one source of the students' attitudes towards grades and learning. Ellen recalls one teacher for whom she "did a lot of work drawing animals for my project. He [the teacher] wanted to hang them up. Then, instead of giving the pictures back to me, he threw them out." Ellen said, "Next time I traced the picuture instead of drawing them, and still got an A." From Ellen's perspective, the teacher placed a greater premium on the grade than on the work itself, for what he gave back to Ellen was only the grade. The work itself was unimportant once it had accrued a particular grade. Ellen seems to have learned that her sense of the worth and value of the work she produces is unimportant as long as the product meets her teacher's expectations. Discovering she can trace the pictures and "still get an A," she decides that it is not worth putting forth effort if with less of it the same grade can be earned.

We did not systematically explore the children's attitude towards their work in school, but several student comments and fortuitous observations suggest that the attitudes Ellen reveals here are shared by other students. Ron once had to go to the library to look up material on a European country's chief industries, climate, and geography, from two references. In the library he examined the Encyclopedia Britannica's description of France, but decided that it contained too much material. He then looked at the section on France in the World Book, decided that there was just the right amount of material, xeroxed it because he wanted to work on it later, and indicated that he was finished. He told the fieldworker that he was just going to write down the name of a second encyclopedia at the library and submit that with his assignment.

Ron did this task to the extent he felt required to get a satisfactory grade. Believing that he would gain nothing (grade-wise) from a second reference he obtained all of his material from one, and copied the name of a second. Ron could also have used other source books, but this would have involved abstracting more material. Ron felt that it was unnecessary to provide a detailed report for this assignment. He did all he thought required to get a satisfactory grade, and no more.

We suspect that for Ron this task had no intrinsic significance as a learning task. He did not seem to see it as an opportunity to learn about another country, and showed no interest in the material he was collecting. Rather he was oriented to what the teacher required to assign an acceptable grade.

Ron's and Ellen's attitudes are similar. Both are oriented towards the teacher's requirements for a satisfactory grade, and neither is guided by a personal sense of accomplishment. Ellen felt a sense of accomplishment in the work she gave her teacher for the first project, but the pride she originally felt was undermined by the teacher's insensitivity. Similarly, Ron appeared uninterested in what he could learn through the task he had been given.

Tom, the second of three students who indicated that "learning is more important than grades," nevertheless reveals a similar attitude towards schoolwork. One afternoon one of Tom's friends mentioned an extra-credit task they were supposed to hand in the next day. Apparently three boys (Tom and two of his friends) had completed their work and asked the teacher if there was other work that they could turn in. He gave this extra-credit assignment. All of the boys agreed that the extra-credit was "kind of dumb;" but Tom added, "Who cares, as long as we get the extra-credit." For Tom and his friends the meaningfulness of the assignment itself was irrelevant. The sole value of the task lay in its potential for extra-credit.

These students' comments and behavior suggest more complex interpretations of the two items on the SCQ with which we began. What does it mean when youngsters agree that "Students care more about good marks than about what they learn," and disagree that "Learning is more important than grades?" We suspect that these items implicitly contrast two possible orientations towards work and learning in school. On the one hand, school work is seen as an opportunity to learn, grow, and change. On the other, school work is a task to accomplish in order to earn a grade. Ellen, Ron, and Tom all focus on accomplishing tasks in order to earn grades. The students' responses to the SCQ suggest that most of the students define school work similarly. Yet if they also see assignments as "kind of dumb," then the grades that can be earned through the tasks become the only reason for doing them.

Paul, the third of the three students who asserted that learning is more important than grades, feels he is unusual in comparison to his classmates. Paul said, "Unlike most of the other kids, I usually go out of my way to do more than is required,...like the projects I do for social studies." Referring to a coming project on the pre-Revolutionary colonies, Paul indicates that he and a friend are going to pick an original topic. They are thinking of colonial coins, since most of the other students will do something like the Boston Tea Party." "But," he says, "Who would do something on colonial coins?"

Paul did not select the project on colonial coins simply for its originality. He is an avid coin collector. He sees this assignment as an opportunity to learn more about colonial coins, and thus is able to give personal meaning to the task the teacher assigned. He regards it as an opportunity through which he can expand his knowledge about coins. But to what extent do the students in general see what they are learning in school as worthwhile and meaningful? Do the students' answers that learning is less important than grades reflect feelings that what they are learning lacks personal meaning?

Various comments the students made regarding school suggest that many of them do perceive school learning as meaningless. Asked what is most important about school, Fay and Gail first reply, "It's boring." After that they mention "Being able to go to college." Tom, asked about schoolwork, said it is boring and "I have better things to do with my time than go to school." Ron similarly says, "I would rather be doing other things than going to classes; I have better things to do with my time." Kevin told us that things get pretty boring during the summer, asked if he feels like getting back to school after the summer he says, "No way...School is bad for your health! It could rot out your brains," because "They don't teach you anything useful in school." Kevin also suggests that school would be more meaningful for him if he could learn something useful there, such as "learning about the law," since he wants to be a lawyer. Kevin hopes for some connection between what he is learning now and what he will become. He cannot see that connection. Paul expresses a similar feeling, saying:

> I can't imagine what I'm going to be doing, as a job, as a career. Maybe school is just a waste. We learn so much that we forget. I can't really remember what I learned last year. So much of what I learned seems to have been forgotten. What is the point in learning it? I am just going to forget it. What is the purpose in this? What good is it going to do me? It is just going to be forgotten.

These students define the meaning of education in terms of preparation for the future, but they cannot divine the connection between present school and future work! As Paul notes, so much of what he is learning seems destined to be forgotten. And since he doesn't have any idea what he wants to become, he is left wondering, "What is the purpose in this? What good is it going to do me?" On the SCQ eight out of ten students did not agree that "This school does well in preparing students for a job," and six rejected the notion that "This school does well in preparing for college." Yet eight of the ten also dismiss the idea that "No one in this school thinks that the work is very important." The students see school as important. When asked what is important about it, they focus on the connection between schooling and the future. Fay and Gail believe school is important to get into college. Heidi says "School is important because if you want to be a doctor or something, you have to get an education." Tom says, "Doing well means a lot to me because doing well now will lead to success in getting into college." Steve notes that if he doesn't do well, he won't be able to go to the Air Force Academy as he wants.

These students do not focus primarily on what they are learning and its future usefulness. Rather, they connect their current performance with getting into college. They believe if they do well they will be able to get into college, and they see college in turn as necessary to pursue a career. However, what they are doing on a day-to-day basis is not meaningful; the skills and knowledge they are acquiring do not make sense to them as skills and knowledge worthwhile to learn; they are unable to differentiate between what is important to know and what is unimportant. Thus, many adopt Lee's attitude of "I don't care what I learn. What counts is getting good marks."

Given the emphasis the students place on good marks, it is not surprising that most of them see themselves as trying hard in school. Only one girl, Debra, indicates that she does not try very hard in school, a posture in marked contrast to the attitudes of the others. When Debra received several C's on her report card, her mother asked Debra if she cared. Debra replied, "No!...You don't want me to be different do you? C is an average grade and what is wrong with being average?" Debra's mother did not respond, but her expression showed that she was disgusted with Debra's attitude.

The reactions of most of the students and their parents reveal that C is not an acceptable grade and in general all strive to do better than C work. However, only two of them, Gail and Beth, did not receive any C's during the entire seventh grade year. Gail's response to Fay's C in Spanish was, "I wouldn't like it if I got a C. I'd work harder in that course." Beth expressed a similar attitude. When asked "Is it important to you not to get any C's?" She replied, "Yeah, because then I get Honor Roll." Reactions of the students to C grades varied depending on the course in which they receive the grade. Three students received a C only in Spanish, which generally they attribute to a lack of effort. For example, Kevin by request rated how hard he tries in school on a five-point scale. He replied, "A 4.5 except in Spanish, where I try about a 3." After Fay received two A's, three B's and a C in Spanish, she said, "I was concentrating on my B grade, which had been a B- and I brought it up." She added, "Spanish isn't very important." Paul said about his C in Spanish, "I don't care as much about Spanish...I don't seem to be putting in the same time with it as I do with other subjects." The students indicate that they see Spanish as different, as less important than their other grades. They do not feel distressed by a C in that class since they aren't trying as hard. But they imply that they are striving for at least B's in all of their other subjects.

Tom received one C- during the entire year:

> He said he got the C- because he had transferred from one class to another and had missed the first major test. His teacher gave him a zero for the test and only later discovered her mistake. When he received the C- and others saw the grade, the word got around very fast and he felt embarrassed. He felt that he had disappointed his parents. When he came home last year with a C, his dad told him that if he got all C's he'd end up nothing more than a garbage man. That, he said, kind of 'bummed him off.' He said his parents got all A's in school and expect A's and B's from him. He says he puts a great deal of effort into doing well in school. Doing well means a lot to him because if he does well this year he can be put into the high group next year and being in the high group next year means he can be in the high group the year after. It is basically this type of streaming that he sees as motivation for doing well in school, because it will lead to success in getting into college. He said half-kiddingly, but also half-seriously, that he would like to go to Harvard or Yale.

Tom's attitude is intertwined with his parents' attitudes towards performance. He sees his parents as expecting all A's and B's and is sensitive to disappointing them.

Several of the other students referred to their parents' reactions in describing their own feelings about C grades. Ellen received 3 A's, 3 B's, and a C in math. When asked about her grades she replied, "The C's are no good according to my parents. My mother thinks of me as an A student and so thinks a B isn't good. She was upset about the C in math although I always get C's in math. But I got a B last term so mom expected more from me." Alice, who feels that she is overall a B student, received two C's one term. She felt that the C's were not good and she said she wanted to pull them up to a B. Her parents did not get mad at her because of the C's but they "seemed to be hovering about, asking about homework more."

When Steve received two C's and the rest B's, his parents told him that they know his aspirations are for college and a career, and that he should understand that he will have to do better in school if he wants to achieve those goals he has set for himself. He feels that his parents would like him to get A's and B's if not all A's. He himself wants to do better in school. Lee received a C- in science because he failed to complete two homework assignments. He focused on the reactions of his parents, who told him "It's one thing to not do well on a test after you've tried and studied, but you shouldn't do poorly in a course just because you don't complete the assignments." Lee reported feeling pressure from his parents to do well in school, but, he added, "not just from my parents, but from myself. I pressure myself to get good grades."

Carol also received a C in science after not completing a couple of assignments. When asked about her parents' reaction to this report card, Carol reported, "My mother was mad because I was missing the assignments, but she wasn't because of the grade." Carol indicates that what is important to her mother is, "if I try."

Beth commenting on her B in science notes:

> I went down two whole grades. I had an A-; I went down to a B. But they didn't mind because they know I don't like science. I hate science...They know I try hard and they don't really mind, as long as I don't bring home any C's. (Did they say you can't get any C's?) Oh, no! They understand...Last year... I got a C+ [in French] and they said 'We don't mind about French, because we know you don't like it, and we know you tried hard.' So they don't mind. (So, then how come you say it's not okay

> with them if you get a C?) Well, they're upset, but not upset-upset. Just upset that I got a C.

Beth explained that her grades are important to her parents so "I can get into a good college and get into a good profession."

> Ron received a B+ in Math and C's in his other courses.
>
> Ron said he didn't like what he received. He felt also that he deserved higher grades in math and in science. He didn't know why he received the grades that he did...He felt that he could do better, but because he is in the high level classes, the work is harder. He felt he deserved the C he received in social studies, but said that the teacher is boring and he falls asleep in class.
>
> When asked what his parents thought of his report card, Ron said that he hadn't shown it to his mother for a week until the end of the spring vacation. He said that that worked out because his mother was more upset about not having been shown the report card than about his grades...He said he didn't mention his grades to his dad...Apparently he had been quite upset about the last report card and this one was worse.

Clearly Ron feels that coming home with a report card that is primarily C's is totally unacceptable to his parents, to the extent that he tries to conceal it from them.

Overall, almost all of the students strive to obtain at least B grades. Their attitudes towards C grades appear to be strongly influenced by their parents' attitudes on the subject. Many parents appear to expect B grades or better from their children. However, when their children fail to obtain at least a B in a course they communicate their dissatisfaction by focusing on the child's effort rather than on the grade itself. They communicate that they expect the child to try hard in school and that they are disappointed in the youngster when he/she does poorly if the reason is that he/she did not try hard enough.

Comments from a couple of parents suggest that parents perceive their expectation that their chldren receive at least B grades as a reasonable demand that does not place undue pressure on the youths. Paul's mother notes that she feels she "wasn't pushing Paul because he has a lot going for him and has the ability to become something as long as he works for it. If he hadn't the ability I wouldn't encourage him like I do. That would be pushing him."

Gail's mother indicates that although Gail receives all A's and B's in school she sees her daughter as "an average student who works hard." "An average student," Gail's mother continues, "is one who can handle the material for her grade." Implied in her comments is the belief that an average student will receive A's and B's as long as they try hard. The reactions of Lee's, Carol's, and Beth's parents to their children's C's, together with Paul's and Gail's mothers' comments, indicate that the parents press their children to try hard in school. Implicit in their emphasis on effort is the message that if you try hard you will receive at least B's in your school work.

In summary, we have seen that the students in our sample stress doing well in school in terms of grades, over what they are learning. They do not appear to experience much of what they are learning as meaningful or important to learn. But they recognize that it is important to do well in school, associating performance in seventh grade with future success. As a consequence, almost all of the students strive to obtain at least B grades. The students' attitude towards school performance appear to be strongly influenced by their parents' expectations. Many of the parents anticipate at least B grades from their children in all subjects.

2. Students' Experience of School

Thus far we have discussed the adolescents' attitudes toward grades and learning. But the children's experience of school also includes what happens in the classroom. Since we were unable to observe the children in that setting, we tried to encourage them to articulate their perceptions of school. They found it difficult to convey a full sense of what happens in the classroom, however. By and large we could only get them to focus on what they found most and least enjoyable about school. We recognize in retrospect that our ability to talk in much greater depth with the students about their experiences of home relationships originated, in part, in the fact that we also observed them in their homes. By using the observations we could focus the children's conversations with us on a much wider range of experiences.

Through focusing on what the students found most and least enjoyable, interesting, satisfying about the classroom we were able to identify one particular dimension of classroom instruction that is particularly significant for the children's experience of school. Beth observes that certain courses are interesting and others boring:

Fieldworker: Why is English more interesting than history?

Beth: In English we do grammar and staff like that. We do different things. We don't just do the same thing everyday. Social studies is the same thing. He gives notes and we take notes, we see films, we do all this stuff, and its really boring.

Fieldworker: And what about math? What makes math interesting?

Beth: I just like it. I usually get it.

Fieldworker: You like to get the problem right?

Beth: Yes.

Fieldworker: So, how come science can't be interesting?

Beth: It's really boring. We never do games of stuff like that. We just work, work, and more work.

Fieldworker: Well, what's work? What would be a game as opposed to work?

Beth: We have to take notes, take tests, more notes, do worksheets, get homework. It's really a pain.

Carol also seeks to distinguish teachers who are interesting and boring. She explains.

> Teachers that I like make learning better and more interesting. Teachers I don't like just give it to you and say take this down as notes and make it boring. The good teachers will really get you involved. They will give you a variety of things pertaining to the subject...The main thing that makes a good teacher is that they have a lot of different things for you to do...There is something to work on, but it would be a little more than what we can do.

Lee spoke of a couple of teachers that he liked who let "you teach everything:"

> Others don't give you a chance...They don't let you try to explain what they mean that once happened to you or how you understood what they said. The don't let the kids try to relate to what they are talking about.

Carol, Beth, and Lee refer to boring teachers in similar terms: they require students only to "take notes" and "don't let you try to explain what they mean." Thus boredom may be understood as more than lack of variety in the learning process. All three students want to be involved in the learning process, through either discussion or working on particular tasks. They suggest that they do not enjoy education when they experience it as a process through which they are supposed to absorb and abstract information. They are bored by lecturing, for which they must sit passively and take notes. But they also dislike social studies and science in which they are asked only to locate and routinely process information that is printed in the text. The students want to be involved in what they are learning by solving problems, particularly somewhat challenging ones, and by relating the material to what they already understand and know. They feel bored when they see themselves only acquiring information and doing nothing with it.

The experience of involvement that students look for in school is a consistent dimension of their out-of-school learning activities. Most are engaged in some type of extra-curricular activity in addition to Hebrew School. Paul is learning about coins, as well as American history; through his coin collecting. Steve is interested in ships and planes throughout history; he reads about ships and planes and constructs models of them. Ron is learning to fix the motor on his motorbike and how to ride more powerful bikes. Gail, Fay, and Tom are learning to play musical instruments. Heidi is learning to ride, jump, and show horses. Both Alice and, to a lesser degree, Beth are involved in gymnastics. Several of the boys are coached in sports through their membership on organized teams.

Each of these out-of-school learning activities entails a great deal of continuing physical involvement by the adolescent. Each involves the adolescent in doing something physical to activate his/her interest area. Sports and music require physical movement and skill to accomplish the sport or create the music. Even model-building and coin-collecting have concrete physical actions associated with them. Further, the actions the adolescent takes determine the outcome of the task he/she is doing, whether this is making a long jump, playing a game, creating a model, or buying for a coin collection. The hobbies both physically and mentally engage the adolescent in a task; the youngster's activities have visible consequences. It is this lack of physical and mental involvement and of clear consequences, that the adolescents point to in the subjects at school that they enjoy least.

What we point to here goes beyond involvement and to the results of that involvement. Through most out-of-school activities the adolescents can have impact and see the results of their skill development and learning. In all of the "hobbies," because they are so dominated by skills, the adolescents can see and feel themselves growing and changing and developing. Improving one's batting average, leaping further than one could before, jumping a higher hurdle, playing a harder musical piece or an old piece better, fixing a motor one could not fix before, etc., are all observable concrete manifestations of a person's development over time. Even coin collecting can provide the adolescent with a sense of development. Paul notes:

> Right now he is trying to collect one coin of all the major types of coins minted in the United States since the establishment of the Republic. He goes to two coin shows a year. Before going he checks over his coin books, surveying what he has, and makes a decision as to which coin he wants and how much he should spend for it...He said that the collection began with some coins that his father had in an old collection, but he has done the primary job of building the collection.

Paul may not experience himself developing, but he experiences his collection as building and growing.

The adolescents' immediate sense of either himself or of something else developing through his involvement points to a significant difference between out-of-school and in-school learning from the perspective of these youngsters. Observing Heidi during a riding lesson, we noted:

> The teacher describes everything that the girls' bodies should be doing, how it should feel, why this is the right thing to do to communicate with the horse...Because form and making the horse do what you want is seeable and something that can be worked on in small parts, you are able to see your progress concretely and do well...Also, the teacher gives signs the whole time of what is expected at this level of performance. For example, he says that he expects all of the morning class, the advanced class, to get into a frame, but only a few of this class.

The difference between learning this skill and the learning the child does in school is that the skill Heidi is acquiring is broken down into small units that Heidi acquires sequentially. She can, therefore, experience herself developing increasing mastery. Similarly, Alice in her gymnastic lessons gains a sense of increasing mastery as she progresses through sequentially and hierarchically arranged skill levels. But it is not only through formal lessons that the teenager may gain this sense of increasing mastery. Ron's brother helps Ron to learn how to fix his motorbike. Ron wants to buy a larger bike, but his mother insists that he must master fixing the one he has now before buying a new one. Ron thus sees repairing the motor of the smaller bike as part of a sequence that, if followed out, will enable him to progress to a larger bike.

Thus in looking at the adolescents' behavior in out-of-school learning settings which they self-select for interest we discern two aspects of the learning process that are important if the youngsters are to be authentically engaged in it: involvement of the learner, and sequentially arranged tasks. Unlike their out-of-school activities, many areas of school learning are not presented as sets of interacting and increasingly complex problems that the adolescents can solve, seriatim. Rather, the students experience school as a bundle of tasks and tests which they must complete. Especially in subjects such as social studies, science, and English (and not math) the students experience each assignment and unit isolated from the activities that preceed it and that will follow it. In school, the goal is to succeed on each of these separate tasks, and unlike the components of out-of-school learning, many school tasks do not send messages to the student about his/her own development and increasing competence. In addition, most of the adolescents do not feel personally involved in many school tasks. These circumstances seem directly implicated in the students, categorization of school activities as not meaningful, unimportant, and boring.

3. School Tasks and Students' Use of Time

One of the primary goals of this study is to identify factors associated with ethnicity that contribute to school success. We noted in the last two sections that from the students' perception school confronts them with a series of mostly boring tasks that they must perform to get good grades. "Success" for each task is defined by the assigning teacher's definition of it. In order to understand what contributes to overall success in school we must first establish the range of tasks with which students must deal. Then we can begin to consider students' strategies for confronting these tasks, under what circumstances they change their tactics to try to deal more successfully with the tasks, the directions in which they change their behavior, and finally how students' relationships with their parents aid or hinder their coping with school tasks.

The first set of tasks on which much school success is dependent is tests and quizzes. One student, Tom, feels that tests are overemphasized in evaluating student success. He said:

> Grades only reflect test performance, but not class participation... Up until sixth grade the report cards we got were fairer. These report cards didn't give grades. Instead teachers wrote comments about how students were doing...These comments gave a fuller picture of how a student was doing.

From other students' comments we learn that other tasks like homework and written classwork, are also incorporated into a teacher's evaluation. But we gained the impression that test grades are the primary determinant of student grades.

All of the students prepare for tests by studying for them during a short period prior to the tests. The length of this period varies from student to student. Most appear to study only the night before a test. One student said, "I do a lot of studying during homeroom [the day of the test] because I think if you study it really soon then it's going to be really fresh, as well as studying the night before a long time." Tom, however, indicates that his parents emphasized that "I shouldn't try to cram the night before, but rather prepare over a few days' period." He said that in preparing for a test, "I usually re-read the chapter a couple of days before the test, then rewrite my notes, and then go over my notes." Finally his mother quizzes him.

Lee's study strategy differs from Tom's in more repsects than the amount of time prior to the test that they study. Lee only goes over his notes and does not re-read anything, since the teacher only tests what he covers in class. He also does not rewrite his notes or ask his mother to quiz him. He believes that what you have to do is "really pound it in." For Lee, the primary strategy is to review, review, and review until the material is deeply engrained in his memory, compared to Tom's more active approach.

A couple of the other students also speak of their parents quizzing them before a test. Lee's parents don't quiz him, but he has adopted a strategy of quizzing himself. He says:

> I just look at my notes, then I cover something, and I'll look at a word, then I'll define it, you know, because that usually is what the test is. Even if they are multiple choices, they're really definitions, and essay questions are really definitions, too.

Lee in these remarks points to one further aspect of a study strategy. In conceiving of tests as essentially involving defintions, he re-structures and organizes the material by the way he studies for it. This strategy is thus different from Jack's who in studying for a science test the night before the test spends only half an hour just re-reading his notes.

We begin to see in describing the students' strategies that studying for a test is a complex activity potentially involving a number of sub-activities. All of the students re-familiarize themselves with the material shortly prior to the test. But some also practice retrieving material by being asked questions or asking themselves questions. Others explicitly (through re-writing notes) or implicitly (through specifically studying definitions) reorganize the material that they are learning.

We cannot via our survey of the students' study strategies assess their relative effectiveness. Most of the youngsters in our sample are relatively successful academically; eleven of the fifteen are primarily B or A/B students. Jack, who spent a relatively short time just reviewing his science notes, is a poor student in science (he received a D). It seems reasonable to suggest that school success is related to the use of effective test study strategies, but establishing the relationship between school success and test study strategies will require further research.

In addition to studying for tests the children are required to complete a broad range of other tasks which parents, teachers, and students collectively refer to as homework. Among the tasks we observed the youngsters doing, or about which we were informed, are: math problems, answering questions that required abstracting material from a text or other resource book; preparing written and oral reports on a variety of topics; preparing posters on different topics; writing stories and plays; building a model bedroom; reading literature. As we review the list we note that each of these tasks makes a different demand on the children and requires the utilization of different skills. Nevertheless, when parents and children refer to such tasks and/or to a student's success or failure performing them, they lump them together under the term, "homework."

Paul's mother said, "Paul is extremely conscientious about doing his homework. It's important to develop good study habits in junior high school, so that they are second nature by the time he gets to high school." Alice's mother declared that "Alice knows that she won't do well in school unless she gets all of her homework done." On several occasions during the first weeks of Alice's involvement in the study her mother expressed concern that the study would interfere with her completing her homework. Tom, referring to learning contracts in social studies, which specify particular levels of performance and amounts of work required for different grades, said, "I usually set my sights on the amount of work required for a B. If I have more time left, then I do the rest of the work required for an A." He said doing it this way helps him organize his time. Tom's mother, on the other hand, said, "Tom doesn't know how to use his time well when he is studying. When studying to memorize something he jumps up thinking he knows his lines well."

Carol's parents were angry with her when she received a C+ in one of her courses. Carol said they were not angry because of the grade, but because she had failed to turn in two homework assignments. Similarly, Lee's parents were upset when he received a C- in science. He said, "It's not the grade, it's the comments [on the report card] that kill me. 'Homework not done'...My parents told me it's one thing if you don't do well on a test after studying for it, but you shouldn't do poorly in a course just because you don't complete an assignment." Heidi showed her friend a model bedroom that she had completed for home economics. Heidi said, "She gave me a D for this. She said it showed no effort." "No effort," her friend exclaimed, "I was here when you were spending all that time working on it." Heidi also said she was late turning the assignment in.

A consistent theme runs through all of these comments concerning homework. Each refers to the utilization of time and the completion of tasks. Homework is not merely a variety of tasks imposed upon the child. It also requires that the student arrange to spend blocks of his/her time on the work. Thus, success in school depends in part on the child's utilization of time. Homework assignments and studying for tests both require that the child utilize time in a particular way.

The demand placed on the child to utilize his time in a particular way presents him/her with several interrelated challenges. First, the students must decide when to do their homework. Paul's mother remarking on Paul's "conscientiousness," reported that Paul always does his homework immediately after dinner. The decision regarding when to do homework is potentially problematic for any child for it requires a choice between that activity and competing alternatives such as playing with friends or watching television. Paul, in doing homework after dinner defines that period as homework time. Several other students indicate that they start their homework when they come home from school, if they do not have to go to Hebrew School or another activity such as band practice. However, most of the students wait until after dinner before beginning their homework. Tom said that on days when he has Hebrew School or band practice he does not start his homework until the time before he goes to bed around 9:00 p.m. Tom, however, appears to be the exception. Most of the students indicate that they do their homework early in the evening, before watching television or engaging in another activity.

Second, the child must decide which homework to do and how much time to devote to the various possibilities. These are the problems to which Tom points when he explains that for learning contracts he sets his sights on getting a B, and if he has time he works for an A. This is one of his strategies for organizing his time. When Tom says that he sets his sights on obtaining a B, he is indicating that he agrees with the teacher to do a particular amount of work by a particular date. He implies that he is not sure he can accomplish all the work required for an A during the period of time available. However, he sees that as an option and tries for the A if he has enough time. For Tom to receive an A or a B, he must obligate himself to completing a certain amount of work over an extended time period, and what portion of that work to finish on a particular day.

The learning contracts to which Tom refers give students discretion about when they will complete work to a far greater extent than is typical in most classes. Steve is the only other student to refer to these learning contracts. Asked about them, he says:

> I like them. If you have a lot of time one night you can do it then. Like, if you have a lot of homework in another class, you don't have to do the math homework. Our English teacher tells us that there are certain pages and exercises which she would want us to do and it has to be done by the end of the week... That way you try to get ahead. I did them all last night. She just assigned them yesterday. So that's good. Now I'm ahead. If she had assigned them night-by-night, I wouldn't have known what to do next.

Steve indicates that he likes the learning contracts because he is able to organize his own schedule to work on these tasks. He can modulate how much time he spends on them according to how much other work he has. Tom and Steve are both in one of the highest groups academically in their schools. The school's decision to provide students with a large amount of discretion and responsibility for structuring their own time is probably related to the academic achievements of the students who have received it.

Learning contracts place different demands on students to structure how they utilize their homework time than the assignments most of the students normally confront. Most of these assignments are relatively short, for submission the next day or two. In doing these the student has essentially no discretion as to the use of time, for the teacher structures it entirely. The only decision left to the student is when during the day to complete this particular piece of work.

The experience of one student, Lee, points to a potential difficulty students have in organizing their time to complete assignments not due the next day. Lee says that he failed to turn in a couple of assignments in science because:

> The way this teacher works things is that if you don't complete the assignment satisfactorily, then you get the assignment back and have to do it over...After you've done the assignment once,

> it is hard to get up for doing it again, and besides with no due date I kept putting it off until it was too late.

Lee indicates that a due date helps to structure his time. When there is a due date he can complete an assignment. But without one, he does not feel the needed pressure, which brought him to grief on this occasion.

Lee's experience is unusual in that teachers usually provide students with due dates. But it also illustrates the students' difficulty with bringing themselves to work on a task when the deadline for completing it is left to their discretion. A couple of students imply that generally they do not perceive themselves as having much control over the amount of time they spend on a homework assignment. When Jack was asked, "How much time do you put into your homework?" he replied, "Whatever time it takes." Paul responded similarly to this question, saying, "It varies from day to day. If I have five minutes [of homework] that's all the time I spend on it, and if I have two hours [of homework] that's what I spend on it." Thus the amount of homework due the next day generally determines the amount of time the student spends on it.

But all of the students are also assigned reports, projects, and books to read that are due one, two, or sometimes three weeks after they are assigned. Although these reports, projects, and books have due dates, compared to regular homework they allow the student greater discretion regarding the utilization of time and place greater responsibility on him/her for structuring the product. For example, students are required to do reports for social studies which demand library research and the preparation of written or oral reports and visual illustrations. Such assignments require the student's involvement over several days; therefore, even with a due date it is not practicable to wait until the night before to complete the project. These extended period tasks therefore place the student in situations similar to that Lee confronted when he had no due date, as well as that facing Tom and Steve with their learning contracts. The time for working is essentially left to the student's discretion and he/she must structure the available time to complete the assignment by the due date.

However, when students are assigned projects or reports, they are less sure of how much work they must do to obtain a particular grade than in the case of learning contracts when they have discretion over both when to work on the project and how much time to devote to that project. Paul notes that on projects, e.g., in social studies, "I go out of my way to do more than most students." He thus acknowledges that projects and reports are assignments in which students have considerable discretion about how they will invest their energies.

The disgust of Heidi and her friend over the teacher's comment that Heidi's project showed no effort, and the friend's insistence that Heidi had spent a lot of time on it, suggests that students perceive time spent on a project as effort. The teacher said that Heidi had not put much effort into the project, but from the children's perspective, Heidi had invested considerable time in it. The teacher was not actually commenting on the number of hours Heidi had devoted to the enterprise, but on the quality of the project to improve, which perhaps did require more time. But does Heidi recognize why the teacher evaluated her work as poor quality? The only feedback she received was that her work showed "no effort," and to Heidi this means she had not spent enought time on it, when clearly she felt that she had invested a great deal. Heidi has not learned how to evaluate and improve the quality of her work, as opposed to adding up the hours devoted to it. Her teacher's comment is frustrating to Heidi because she does not see how she can improve her performance.

When Paul asserts that "I go out of my way to do more than most students," we suspect that he is focusing not only on the amount of time he devotes to his projcts, but on what he does to improve the quality of his work. Paul showed the researcher different projects he has completed, displaying considerable pride in the quality of his work. He appears to be guided by a sense of the quality of the work he wishes to produce for school. In his statement (above) he suggests that many of his classmates are not guided by a sense of quality in producing reports and projects. His and Heidi's experiences raise the question of how students develop a sense of the quality of their work. If students do not produce good work in school is it because they are not motivated to do so as Heidi's teacher implies, or because they have not learned what to do to improve the quality of their work? We are unable to answer this question at the present time.

In summary, we have seen that homework and tests confront students with frequent demands to utilize and structure their time in particular ways. These demands force students to determine when to do their work, how much time to devote to it, and which activities to undertake. Different tasks allow the students different degrees of discretion over their time: homework assignments due the next day must be done immediately after school or the same evening, but preparing for tests, writing reports, completing projects, and living up to learning contracts provide students with more discretion concerning the amount and distribution of time they will spend on the tasks. The amount of time a student spends on such assignments reflects in part the individual student's idea of how much is sufficient to adequately prepare for a test, write a report, or construct a project, and only for a few students a sense of the quality of work expected by the teacher and how to produce that quality of work. Students are better able to judge how much time is appropriate for preparing reports and projects than to evaluate how good the work is that they have produced.

4. Inducements for Improved School Performance

Heidi's teacher's comment about her project may not have been only an evaluation of her project. It may also have been intended as feedback aimed at inducing Heidi to try harder on future assignments. In general, grades seem to have two functions. They evaluate students' work. In addition, they provide students with feedback regarding their strategies for dealing with the tasks of school. The question emerges: do grades actually induce students to change their behavior?

Lee, in discussing how much time he devotes to studying, states, "I never try to set myself up for high honor roll (all A's)...because if I do that then it takes away a lot of time from athletics." The researcher replies, "So you think that there has to be a limit to how much time you put into it?" "Yeah," he answers, "Or else life wouldn't be fun." Lee perceives students who get all A's as "putting all their time into studying." Lee is typical of most of these students who have a sense of how much time they are willing to devote to school work. They recognize that time spent on school work takes away time from other activities, such as socializing with peers. Lee's comments show that the youths clearly perceive a relationship between grades and time spent studying or working for a course.

Jack said at one point that he isn't involved in a lot of outside activites like the other kids because he is spending a lot of time studying, trying to improve his grades. When Jack got his grades he received 4 B's and a C. He said, "I've been improving every grading period and I should be able to get all B's in the last period." But, he added, "I figure

I'm not an A student. I'm working as hard as I can, and B is as good a grade as I seem to be able to get." Alice, who says she gets all B's, similarly stated, "I can't get A's. I guess I'm just a B student."

Alice and Jack share an attitude different from Lee's about the amount of time to be spent studying to improve one's performance in school. Lee feels he could get all A's if he put in extra time, but Jack and Alice believe that further effort by them will not pay off in improved performance. These two contrasting attitudes exemplify two common responses by the children to the grades they receive. Note that Jack, dissatisfied with his performance, began to try harder. He saw himself as capable of earning higher grades if he worked harder. However, he is not obtaining the highest possible grades, and attributes this to lack of ability, rather than his lack of effort. Alice similarly perceives herself as trying hard yet being unable to get A's. Having reached the highest level possible in their own eyes, Jack and Alice are unlikely to change their study and work habits further.

Jack's and Alice's perceptions that they are B students emerge from their subjective evaluations of the effort they are putting into their work. Jack says he is "working as hard as I can," and is unable to do more. His comment recalls Heidi's reaction to her D and to her teacher's remark that she showed no effort. Heidi believed that she had worked hard on it. The low grade is unlikely to motivate Heidi to do better in school. Rather, she appears to be discouraged by the feedback, believing herself unable to do well in school. Unlike the teacher, Heidi, attributes the debacle to her own inability, sees herself as a C and D student, and (like Alice and Jack) beieves there is nothing she can do to improve her grades beyond C's and D's. She is therefore unlikely to try harder because she thinks it would not payoff.

We have focused thus far on two factors that may influence a student to change his/her behavior in response to evaluations of performance in school. First, students seek to balance time on school work with time spent with peers and in other activities. Second, a student's beliefs about his/her own ability influence whether he/she will make an effort to obtain higher grades. There is a factor: parents, who try to play a role in determining how a student responds to his/her performance in school. We have already reported that many parents express dissatisfaction when students bring home C's. In addition to expressing disappointment or dissatisfaction on these occasions, several parents attempted a more active approach to altering their child's behavior.

After Lee received the C- for not completing several homework assignments, his parents imposed more structure on how he utilized time for homework. During the second term they told him he could not watch television until 8:00 p.m., and that he had to work on science every day even if he didn't have an assignment. Lee reported, "But we don't get a lot of science homework. But they still made me study every night...and I got better grades," partly because he completed all his assignments under this regimen. During third term, however, his parents did not watch him as closely and he again began to view television before eight o'clock. He failed to do all of his homework in science and received a B-, down from B+ the term before. After this, they simply told him, "You know what you have to do. Do it!"

During the second term Lee's parents imposed on Lee a greater structure than any of the other parents in the sample. The only rules most of the parents impose on the children is that they must complete all their homework before watching television in the evening. Lee's parents, on the other hand, required Lee to work at least until 8:00 p.m. and do science homework every night regardless of what was assigned for the next day. Apparently his parents were willing and/or able to impose these conditions on Lee for one term. During the third term their control slackened and he reverted back to some of his previous study habits. They responded by placing responsibility on him to structure his own time to get the work accomplished, which is the stance that most parents adopt on such matters.

Kevin's parents were the only other ones who responded to their child's poor performance in a subject by going beyond the expression of dissappointment. Kevin received a D one semester in Spanish. After this his parents would not let him watch television after nine o'clock. Asked how that made him feel, he replied, "I was upset since there were pretty good shows and movies on past nine." But did he work harder after the restriction? "No, I didn't," he replied. The following term he received a C in the course after flunking the last test. Keven appeared to be essentially unaffected by his parents' attempt to control his behavior through punishment. Kevin says that in other subjects he receives A's and B's. He indicates that his parents feel that Spanish is not as important as these others. They expect him to get A's and B's in them, he says, a C in Spanish is okay with them.

The parents generally do not rely on material rewards or punishments to influence their children's behavior. Rather, they focus on the importance of doing well in school. Kevin's experience also suggests the students are more strongly influenced by their sense of what subjects are important than by material incentives and disincentives contingent on their performance.

5. Parents' Involvement in School Learning

We have thus far focused on some of the major tasks that the child must deal with in order to succeed in school. Common to all tasks is that they require the child to engage in school-related activities at home. Most of the students have some homework every night. In addition, tests and quizzes necessitate that the students study at least the previous night. Since marks on tests and homework constitute the largest portion of final grades, school-related activities at home play a major role in determining student success in school. Many students, like Tom, are aware that class performance itself plays a relatively minor role in determining report card grades.

The child's activities at home and at school thus interpenetrate, and provide opportunities to parents to become involved in and to influence the child's school performance. We have already discussed one way in which parents attempt to influence their child's performance in school: articulation and rearticulations of their expectations for their children's performance, which technique appears to have significant impact on many youths' actual behavior.

In this section we discuss several additional ways in which parents exert influence on children's performance in school. The first is monitoring, seeking to control, and trying to change how the children use their time at home in school-related endeavors..

Parents in several homes often ask questions such as: "Have you completed your homework?" "Do you have any tests coming up?" Through the questions the parent not only monitors the child's school work, but seeks to control how the child allocates time. Tactics other than questions are also used. Tom's parents often come up to his room while he is studying and ask if he has any tests in the next several days. If he replies affirmatively, they often suggest that he start studying now. Ellen says that her mother often "nags" her to do her homework when she is relaxing after dinner but hasn't finished her school work. Alice describes her mother as "hovering" over her making sure that her work is completed for the next day. In several families the child may not engage in any other activity after dinner, such as watching television, until homework is completed. We already described how during one term Lee's parents did not permit him to watch television until eight p.m., regardless of how little homework he had, but they are the only parents to impose this kind of restriction on their child. The other parents depend solely on their child's assurance that his/her work is finished.

By and large the students themselves are responsible for oganizing the time they devote to long-term reports and projects. Gail's and Alice's mothers represent contrasting orientations towards their child's completion of such tasks. Gail's mother says, "I can't keep track of what is due and when it is due. That is up to Gail." Alice's mother, however indicates that when she was a child she always had trouble remembering her homework, and has vowed to remember things for Alice. She therefore inquires frequently when Alice has a project due about whether the project is completed. When parents such as Alice's mother are aware of project due dates, they intervene primarily through inquiring whether it has been completed yet. Carol notes that when she is reading a book for English, her mother:

> Lets me go off on my own, but then if I'm really behind she'll say, 'Hey, why aren't you finished?' [Her mother's behavior] aggravates me...but it's a good thing...That's what mothers do.

Not all the students are as accepting as Carol of her mother's monitoring of long-term assignments. Debra says that she does not tell her mother when she has a report to do because "she would be on my back the whole time." Debra's mother tries to insure that Debra completes her homework before beginning any competing activity at night. However, when her mother inquires, Debra only tells her about routine assignments, due the next day, because she doesn't want her mother to monitor and thus bother her about progress she is making on extended projects. Ellen also indicates that she doesn't let her mother know when a report is due because her mother would then "pester her" to complete it. Thus Debra and Ellen escape their parental control through withholding information about certain assignments.

One of the difficulties confronting a parent in monitoring and controlling their child's utilization of time for school work is determining how much time is needed for a particular task. Parents often ask their child "Have you finished?" this task or that task. But the decision that he/she has devoted enough time is usually the child's alone. Most parents do not directly monitor or control the amount of time the children spend on a particular subject. Only Lee's parents required that he spend some time every day studying for science, even though he felt that he had no science homework. To the extent that the requirement ensured that he actually studied more, it increased the quality of his schoolwork, as measured by the grade he subsequently received. Although Tom's parents do not enforce a particular system for studying, they do inform him that he should spend several days preparing for a test, thereby communicating how much time is sufficient for quality performance on a test, and influencing to some degree how much he actually spends on it. This is similar to the parents who "remind" the adolescent of impending work due. As we saw with Heidi's project, however, time spent on a task does not necessarily translate into quality work or appropriate preparation.

By checking the quality of the child's work directly, or through quizzing the child prior to the test in school, a parent can monitor the quality of the child's work and preparation. At least seven of the children indicate that their parents quiz them before a test. Through such testing both parents and child can decide if they have studied sufficiently. The students indicate that they are tested by the parents after having "finished" studying. They do not report that their performance on their parents' test induces them to study more. It is therefore unclear how the students use testing by their parents within the total context of their study strategies.

Finally, we observed or heard about a very few examples of parents spontaneously or routinely checking the quality of their children's work. We saw Fay showing her mother an English essay she was writing. Her mother responded that she thought that it was too messy. This interaction was the only time that we directly observed a parent commenting on the quality of the child's work before submitting it to a teacher. Most of the youngsters indicate that they show their work to their parents before submitting it to teachers only when they need help; Gail is the only one who routinely gives her mother essays written for English. Gail said, "Mom is great in English and she can check for punctuation and stuff like that." Generally, the adolescents may use parents to test, review, and give feedback as to the adequacy of their work, but the final product and the sufficiency of their preparation for an exam is left to the youngsters themselves to evaluate.

In addition to monitoring the adolescents' schoolwork, parents also serve as resources in the learning process. Since students consistenly bring home work from school, many parents regularly assume the helping role. We asked the students about help from parents:

> Tom said at the beginning of the year he had difficulty in science. The teacher was harder than the teacher he had last year. The teacher mainly focuses on facts and doesn't beat around the bush with a bunch of examples. The tests he had last year were multiple choice and real easy. This year they were essay tests and much harder. Sometime during the early part of the year he went down and asked his mom for some help on something he was having difficulty with in the course...Since that time, up until recently, she had been helping him every night for about twenty minutes. Now he thinks he has the hang of it so he doesn't ask for help.
>
> Steve indicates that the only help he gets is from his mother in French, since his mother is from Montreal. He says that he only gets help when he asks for help and then doesn't get too much help. He notes, 'If they gave me too much help, I wouldn't be doing my own work.'
>
> Paul says he seldom asks his parents for help. Since his Dad is an engineer, he might ask his dad a few questions when he is studying about atoms in science. Otherwise he doesn't ask for help.
>
> Lee says, 'I sometimes go to my parents for help on math problems when they are hard. If I have a problem I go to them. They don't come to me and say, 'How are you doing'?'
>
> Gail says that since her mom is great in English she shows her finished essays to her mother to check for punctuation and stuff like that. Otherwise she said that her mother seldom helped her with her work and then only when she specifically asked for help.
>
> Beth observed that she doesn't ask her parents for help in math, but she knows that her mother can help her in English so she goes to get help from her. Her brother sometimes helps her with math problems but the teacher explains it better.
>
> Ellen's mother asked if I had seen Ellen's home economics project that she got in the show. I said no...We went down to get the bedroom Ellen decorated and the mother said it was really good. I asked if she had helped and she said that they did it together...She is good with ideas and Ellen is good at putting it together. When I asked Ellen later about this, she said that it was she herself who had the idea and her mother who helped put it together.

Overall the students indicate that parents provide help infrequently and then almost only if asked. Parental assistance is therefore dependent on initiative by the child as well as parent. Normally, the child seeks and the parents respond with assistance. For example, Gail's mother notes:

> It used to be that she or her husband would sit down during the day and literally do Gail's homework with her and study with her. But in fifth grade she found that Gail simply could not

> or would not do anything on her own. They thought that this was bad, so they made a rule never to help her again unless she asks for it.

However, the infrequency of unsolicited parental offers of assistance to the youngsters is not always attributable to thoughtful decisions, as it is in the case of Gail's parents. Alice's mother does not usually help Alice with homework, but after the fieldworker did so on one occasion, she suggested that they "do it together more often." The parents may simply be unwilling to sit down with their children and help them on a regular basis. In addition, they may feel unable to help their children. Heidi's mother, for example, says, "My husband can help Heidi in math, but I am simply incapable of helping her with her school work." Ron similarly says about his mother, "She says she can't help with the math because she says she doesn't understand the new math."

Since the availability of parental assistance depends on the child's initiative, to understand the types of help parents provide we must first understand the circumstances in which the children seek help. Most often, requests are made when the child is experiencing difficulty. This may seem self-evident but it also means that the child must be aware that he/she is having problems learning or doing the material. Students generally seek help for a particular task; doing math problems, punctuating and writing their papers, translating from a foreign language, constructing a model bedroom. The difficulty the child experiences is not being able to do that task. Tom, generally a very good student, also appears to be the most sensitive when it comes to sensing that he is experiencing difficulty understanding certain material. He is the only one who asks his parents for assistance when the difficulty is not performing a specific task, but understanding a range of material presented in the classroom or in the text. Paul, who on one occasion asked his dad a question about science, appeared motivated by curiosity and the realization that his dad knows something about this topic, rather than a sense of confusion.

When the child is unable to understand material the parent often can help him/her to comprehend it. However, already, as noted, the children seldom seek and therefore seldom receive this form of assistance. The children who are quizzed by their parents before a test may be assisted in this process to comprehend material they are having difficulty understanding. However, none of them mentioned actually receiving such help, except for Alice, whose mother provided her child with unsolicited assistance in understanding material which Alice found difficult. Whenever Alice had a book to read for school, her mother also read the book. She then discussed it with Alice, helping her to understand the plot, characters, and themes of the story.

Generally, parental assistance occurs when the child is experiencing difficulty and wants help on a particular task. The help is directed towards the task: to solving the math problem, translating a passage in another language, punctuating a paper, building a model. How does the child benefit from this assistance?

In doing a math problem with a child, the parent may help the child understand the math better. However, Lee notes that when he asks his parents for help they usually end up "doing everything for you." Beth explains that her brother helps her with some math problems but "the teacher explains it better." In other words, the particular math problem may be solved with parental assistance, but the child does not necessarily learn math better because of the help. In reference to his mother translating foreign sentences, Steve insists that he does not request too much help because "if they gave me too much help I wouldn't be doing my own work." Steve implies that when he gets help from his mother she translates them for him and the result is her work, not his own; he is not likely to learn the language better through this help. Ellen and her mother discussing the help Ellen received on her home economics project, disagree as to who contributed what to the final design of the bedroom, but clearly the final product was not Ellen's alone. Again, the child is helped in a task, but whether she will be able to do this task better in the future is questionable. When Gail's mother punctuates Gail's sentences for her the paper is improved but whether Gail improves her punctuation skills for the future is questionable.

Throughout all of these examples the primary benefit for the child is that the immediate task is performed better. In that sense, the youngster's success in school is related to parental assistance, for a better task is also graded higher. Ellen, who worked with her mom on her bedroom received an A for the project. Heidi, who received no help from her mother on the same assignment received a D. Gail's mother and father, who made the decision not to help Gail again unless she asked for it, express concern that help sometimes may be a hinderance rather than a benefit in the child's education. In other words, all parental help is not of equal value. Some help may hinder the child from developing the ability to learn and work autonomously, may encourage the child to seek parental bailout whenever he/she experiences the slightest difficulty. Gail's mother remembers being thrust into the role of "literally do[ing] her homework with her."

Lee identifies a similar problem in how he and his parents work on math together. He says, "Sometimes you don't even learn anything...All of a sudden you are doing something and they say, 'Oh, yeah! I remember how to do this,' and they are doing everything for you. They just get carried away." Lee points to an important aspect of parental help, implicit also in Gail's mother's reflections. If the parent actually does the work for the child the child does not benefit from doing it. To avoid this, Gail's mother, accompanying her daughter to the library to do a project, "will direct Gail to various resources if she has a problem, but will not write or do it with or for her." She insists that Gail write the report on her own. Only after it is finished will the mother read it, make suggestions, and improve the grammar.

Thus, Gail's mother provides help, while at the same time encouraging her child to work on her own. How is the help Gail's mother provides distinct from that which she withholds? Remember also that Gail's parents "made a rule never to help her again unless she asks for it." Is the distinction between solicited and unsolicited help the same as that which differentiates help that hinders from help that facilitates development and education? Gail's mother implies that if Gail asked for help while writing a paper she would not provide it; rather, she would point her towards various resources. Thus, when Gail asks for help, her mother distinguishes between the sort she will provide and the sort she will not; she suggests various resources to Gail but insists that the girl abstract and integrate the material herself. This strategy of helping seems to demand that Gail learn how to learn on her own. The mother notes that when they first implemented the present policy on helping, Gail "had difficulty adjusting to this new arrangement... But now she organizes her work as meticulously as [the mother had] organized it for her." Gail's mother suspects that Gail has learned how to study through working in the new way. Some direct evidence of this occurred when the mother found Gail using flash cards Gail herself had made to study Spanish. In the past the mother had used flash cards with her. Thus through working with their children in appropriate ways, parents may both model and encourage good study skills.

One of the researchers assisted Alice on a homework assignment and noted that Alice did not know how to use the index. Alice had to answer a set of questions based on material in her science text. As she read each question she flipped through the pages, until the researcher suggested using the index. The researcher also noticed that Alice frequently answered only part of the question, omitting the other portion. She pointed out these omissions to Alice who completed the responses appropriately. The next time they met the researcher asked how she did on the homework they had done together. She received a high grade and was very excited, and her mother said the two of them should do it together more often. Alice said that her parents usually don't do homework with her, but if she has questions, needs help, or needs to be tested for a test, her mother will do so.

We may note that the fieldworker's help was unsolicited, whereas her parents assist Alice only when she specifically asks. Was the researcher's help therefore adverse, similar to the type of assistance that Gail's mother avoids? Probably not; the assistance provided made Alice aware of a better way of obtaining information from the text and pushed her to answer the questions completely. But the researcher did not do the assignment for Alice. Alice, like Gail, probably benefited from this help by learning skills that will enable her to be a more successful student.

Another mother we talked to explicitly mentions trying to help her child develop a particular skill she feels will promote school success. Fay's mother wants Fay to know how to draw so she can do school tasks that require drawing. "They don't really teach someone without talent how to do it," she said. So she bought Fay a book that teaches how to conceptualize various objects. Fay's mother observes that, "Fay used it and did well.

She had to do a project drawing a school and used this book in which it tells how to draw a house. She adapted it for the assignment and it came out well." This was unusual behavior for a parent, however. If parents promote the development of their children's learning and study skills, they do so nondeliberately in the process of working with them on particular tasks.

In this section we have identified five ways in which parents through involving themselves in their child's school learning may promote the child's success in school. First, parents monitor and control how their children utilize time for homework and school studying, and are better placed to supervise their children's work on daily homework than longer-term assignments. Several parents, however, monitor the adequacy of the child's work and preparation. Many pre-test their children before a test in school; in doing so, they can assess if the child has studied sufficiently. However, few parents spontaneously or routinely check the quality of their children's schoolwork.

Third, parents help children who are experiencing difficulty on particular tasks; such help is usually initiated by the child. Children seem to benefit from this help primarily through being able to complete that particular task better. It is questionable whether the child learns how to do the task better in the future; however, he/she may instead learn to depend on the parents to do the task for him/her. Fourth, a child may be helped by his parents to understand course material with which he is experiencing difficulty. The children rarely seek this form of assistance and seldom received unsolicited assistance from their parents of this kind. Finally parents provide help which promotes the development of the child's learning and study skills. Parents in providing such help give the child suggestions about how to do a task and avoid doing it for or with the child.

G. Conclusions

One of the major purposes of the study was to identify areas of congruence and incongruence between adolescents' perceptions of their homes and their perceptions of their schools. In this section we will discuss possible matches and mismatches in these two areas, within the three Home and School Climate domains: Organization, Relationships, and Personal Development.

1. Organization in Home and School

We have focused on two topics related to the adolescents' experience of structure in their lives within home and school: the responsibility they exercise for completing home and school-related tasks, and the responsibility they have for structuring their time at home. In general, schoolwork is the only sector of the adolescents' life in which they take on substantial responsibilities. Within the home, the seventh graders have few assignments. Some girls perform minor chores, but these represent minimum demands, and the boys do even less. In addition, parents make and keep track of their child's appointments, plan structured activities into the child's life, and devise a variety of plans for family events that involve the child; they substantially organize the child's daily life. The children are thus freed of the responsibility of structuring most of their own time.

Schools provide the adolescents with greater responsibility for completing tasks and structuring their time than any other institution in their lives. Some parents try to assume some of this responsibility by monitoring and controlling the child's completion of homework assignments. But we noted that in tasks such as tests and long-term assignments, in which the child has discretion about when and for how long to do the task, the adolescent assumes the primary responsibility. One possible consequence of the relative lack of responsibilities the adolescents confront at home, compared to what they encounter in school, is that they are able to focus primarily on the demands of the school. If these children had more tasks to complete at home, they might be less able to perform and complete the tasks of school. Further, with little need to organize their out-of-school time, children can focus utilizing certain parts of it to prepare for tests and to complete long-term projects. Parents provide children with clear well-defined apportionments of time within which they can decide when and how much schoolwork to complete on a given day.

Although school thrusts greater responsibilities on these teenagers then they encounter in other areas of life, they do not necessarily experience school as incongruent with rules and limits within which to exercise their responsibilities. Most of the assignments they receive are due within a day or two. The school breaks down the regular work into small units that are usually due the following day, thus allowing the child relatively little discretion as to when to do the work. The greater discretion the children have over studying for tests or working on long-term assignments, thus occurs within an otherwise elaborate structure for producing schoolwork.

The adolescents thus experience a substantial degree of structure within both the home and the school. We gained the overall impression that they both function better in, and prefer, relatively structured as opposed to relatively unstructured contexts. Particularly at home we observed that they have considerable difficulty dealing with unstructured time. They spend considerable time trying to decide what to do with free hours, quickly become bored, and float from one activity to another. They express preferences for having structured activities built into their lives. We are not claiming that the adolescents want no unstructured time. During the week they have about two hours of unstructured time every day. As in school, however, this time occurs within an otherwise well-structured life.

The presence of structured activities within these youngsters' lives does guarantee that they will not experience boredom. The school day is well structured but the students are bored in a number of their classes. Boredom appears to be related not only to the absence of structure but to the absence of involvement. The children experience a substantial degree of involvement in the activities in which they engage out of school. School activities, however, vary in the degree to which they involve the children. The students experience heightened interest in both in-school and out-of-school programs to the extent that they feel involved, mentally or physically. in the activity.

2. Home Relationships and Students' Experince of School

Two aspects of the adolescents' home relationships may influence their experience of school, as well as their performance there: the youngsters' experience of authority within the home and their experience of parents' involvement in their lives. We believe that these adolescents do not perceive their parents as authoritarian; rather, they feel that their parents' decisions concerning permissible and non-permissible behavior can be affected by the children's input and influence. On the other hand, they do not view their parents as permissive. Parents are seen to establish rules and guildelines that evolve continuously through dialogue between parent and child. Other writers refer to the style of authority exercised in these homes as "authoritative," rather than authoritarian or permissive.

The students' remarks about school suggest that they experience the exercise of authority in school as authoritarian rather than authoritative.

Classroom practices are determined solely by the teacher. The teacher determines when work will begin and when it will cease, within the classroom. He/she decides on the content of what is learned and the criteria by which success and failure for learning will be determined. The teacher determines acceptable and unacceptable classroom behavior. School-related tasks completed out-of-school are also evaluated primarily by the teacher, who determines when assignments are due and in most cases the nature of the tasks the students must perform. Only in certain long-term assignments do students exercise discretion regarding the topic for a report or project.

We hypothesize that students' experience with authority inside the home colors their perception of authority in the school. In particular, we suspect that students who experience authority at home as reasonable and subject to their influence through dialogue will have difficulty fully accepting authoritarian decision-making in the classroom. Various comments and observations from the students suggest that they do not respect a teacher merely because he/she is a teacher. Beth, for example, said of one teacher, "Everyone thinks he's stupid. Today he gave three detentions and everybody else was talking. He just picked out three people to give it to. And they are not going to do it." Jack sneered at one teacher who gave him a good grade even though Jack did little of the work. Jack said, "He didn't even look at our notebooks. He is such a fool!" Alice did an imitation of a teacher who, she said, is always having a "nervous breakdown" in class, pulling her hair out and complaining, "I don't know what I'm going to do with you kids!" Paul sat around with a group of his friends laughing about a teacher and doing imitations of her. When asked what was wrong with her they said, "She is so prim and proper and has so many rules." Student respect for a teacher depends, it seems, on the youngsters' perception of the adult's personal qualities, rather than his/her status as a teacher.

Two other students' comments or interactions with teachers also support the notion that they are uneasy about teachers' attempts to exercise unlimited authority in the classroom. Beth reported:

> Everyone thinks Mr. V. is stupid...He gave me a detention and I went up to him after class and said, 'Mr. V., I'm not going.' He says, 'Well, you didn't have one in the first place.' And I said, 'Yes, I did'...and then I walked out of the room.

Carol referred to another incident involving herself and a teacher:

> There was a question on a test and everyone else wrote how they asked it on the paper. But she told us later that she didn't want us to tell what it was, but to explain the process. So I went up to her after class and asked her to make the questions clearer. She told me that she was perfectly capable of doing that...I walked out with lots of swears, not to her,...to myself.

These students' willingness to question teachers' decisions suggests that they do not accept a style of authority which is authoritarian. By questioning teachers' decisions they seek to influence these rulings in the same way they have learned is legitimate within their homes.

Involvement in their child's schoolwork is a major component of most parents' overall involvement in their child's life. School is an area of the child's life not directly accessible to parents. Parents depend on communication between themselves and their child for entry into this aspect of the child's activities. It seems reasonable to suggest that the overall relationship between parents and child influences both the quantity and quality of communication between them regarding school. If the child experiences the parents as generally accessible and receptive to communication, he/she will be more likely to talk to them about school.

Since the children within our sample experience their parents as open to communication, and since most of the parents are substantially involved in their children's lives, we might expect considerable communication among them about school. This expectation is at least partially fulfilled. The parents of those adolescents who give their father and mother access to school tasks through talking take on roles of reminders and monitors of the adolescents' time schedules. However, some of the same youngsters conceal certain school tasks from their parents, fearing that they will be nagged if their parents know about them.

Parents also become involved in their children's schoolwork as resource persons who seeking to help their children perform better. Parents appear to modulate their involvement as resources by relying on the children to inform them of a need for help, rather than thrusting aid upon them. They may also prefer solicited to unsolicited assistance because they want to limit the time they invest helping their children, or because they feel unable to provide the appropriate assistance. In addition, many parents see providing too much assistance as detrimental to the child's development of self-reliance.

Parents' involvement in their children's school work as a resource appears primarily to affect the children's performance of particular school tasks. Children solicit help from their parents when they experience difficulty on a particular task, rather than when they do not understand the content of a course. Parents usually help their children solve a particular problem. They rarely assist the youngsters to master or understand the content of a course.

To the extent that children's personal lives influence their school performance, a high level of parental involvement may affect school work positively. A couple of youngsters in the sample reported that personal problems with either peers or at home were adversely affecting their school performance. In both cases the children shared their concerns with their parents and the latter initiated efforts to help their children deal better with these issues.

3. Personal Development In-School and Out-of-School

The adolescents' experiences of learning and developing within and out-of-school represented one area in which we saw considerable incongruence. Out-of-school these adolescents experience personal development in two contexts. First, they evaluate their own behavior and the behavior of their parents as indicative of their own increasing maturity. Typically, the adolescents perceive as signs of increasing maturity changes in what their parents permit or do not permit them to do. The limits placed on a given child comprise an evolving standard through which they are allowed to engage in ranges of behaviors deemed appropriate for their age and demonstrated reliability. Through being allowed to do what previously they were not permitted to do, they gain a sense of increasing maturity.

Second, the adolescents participate in a number of activities out-of-school that involve and require learning. Some engage in formal lessons, others participate less formally in hobbies. Through these activities they develop an increasing sense of mastery. In some instances the learning is structured hierarchically. In others, such as sports, the children experience increasing mastery through their gradually improved performance. In yet others, the children can actually observe themselves gaining knowledge of one particular content area, through which they gain a sense of their own increasing expertise.

The adolescents' experiences with the signs of maturity and increasing mastery of out-of-school learning provide them with a sense of their own development. They do not appear to gain a similar sense of themselves as developing from school. From their perspective, school confronts them with a series of tasks, not hierarchically arranged. The youngsters do not feel themselves gaining an increased sense of competence or expertise from performing these tasks. Rather, they must push themselves to do well, if possible, whatever tasks confront them at a particular time. They do not experience most school assignments as meaningfully related either to each other or to their own development.

The observations made by a couple of students and reflected in the comments of others, that school is a waste of time and that they have better things to do with their lives, can be understood in light of the incongruity most of them sense between development in-school and development out-of-school. From the students' perspective, school may be relevant to their future success, but it is not relevant to their personal development. In contexts outside of school they perceive themselves as developing, and thus these settings are more highly valued than school itself.

III. IRISH-AMERICAN

A. Introduction

This introduction provides a historical background or context for the research described in the subsequent sections of this report. The history of Irish immigration to the U.S. and the role of the immigrants and their descendants are outlined. The researcher has also touched upon religious affiliation and patterns of family behavior, as these pertain to ethnic identity.

1. The Exodus

Although the main influx of Irish immigrants took place in the latter half of the nineteenth century, in 1790 about 44,000 persons born in Ireland resided in the U.S., mostly Protestants and people of moderate means who could afford the relatively expensive passage. Between 1815 and 1845, more than a million Irish immigrants entered the country. This sudden increase in the rate of immigration was due to an economic recession in the United Kingdom and an associated shift in Irish agriculture from tillage to grazing, which resulted in the consolidation of estates and the eviction of many small tenant farmers. In the period 1845-1854--the Famine years and their aftermath--almost one and half million Irish arrived in the U.S. A further wave of more than a million immigrants followed in the years 1855-1870. Although another one and half million Irish entered the country between 1870 and 1900, the number of immigrants per year never again reached the peak of the Famine years. After 1915, the immigrants were predominantly Catholic.

The Irish settled in urban centers, partly because they were ill-equipped for rural life, being among the most inefficient farmers in Europe. Also, being gregarious and community-loving, they found the vastness and isolation of the American countryside uncongenial. They started as unskilled laborers, though by 1845 they had attained a certain amount of social mobility, working at skilled occupations and making their way into the lower middle-classes. However, the conditions of lower class urban living induced severe mental and psychological stress, with the result that the Irish gained a not-undeserved reputation for disorderly behavior.

The immigrants who settled in New England particularly in Boston, were initially far less successful in terms of social mobility and status than those who decided to move westward. This has been attributed to the highly structured nature of Massachusetts society and a dominant Protestant ascendance determined to retain its power and prestige. By 1850, Irish immigrants made up more than 30% of Boston's population. In Philadelphia and Stamford (Connecticut) the Irish played an important part in vigorous industrial expansion, thus winning for themselves a secure place in these communities, but in Boston construction bosses recruited cheap labor for projects in distant parts of the U.S.

The surge of industrial development lost its impetus sooner in Boston than elsewhere and created a sense of failure and defeatism. The persistence of South Boston as an unassimilated urban ghetto emphasizing a line of demarcation between antagonistic cultures is quite untypical of the Irish experience in other parts of the country. The cultural conflict was accentuated by the fact that, Boston, unlike New York, had no significant Irish population before the famine immigrants arrived. The impact of these refugees was undiluted by the presence in appreciable numbers of any other immigrant group, and hence polarization was inevitable. The Irish could not identify with the reform movements that attracted liberal Bostonians, for the latter were traditionally unsympathetic to the Catholicism which was the linch-pin of Irish identity. The political power the immigrants quickly came to wield was the last straw and occasioned a reaction in the form of a nativist movement which sought, among its other objectives, to extend the five-year residency requirement for voting to twenty-one years. However, in the cities of the middle west, where the majority of the immigrants settled, the physical and social boundaries were less rigid, and assimilation proceeded more quickly.

2. Education

The Catholic school system is largely the creation of a church dominated by Irish-American clerics, and until the late 1960's, the attendance figures declined significantly. The Irish, as educators and students were its most fervent supporters. The early immigrants could not subscribe without reservation to the principle of universal, publicly-supported, compulsory education, which had begun to be favored by state and local governments in the early 1800's. Convinced that education should have a religious character, the Irish perceived a strong Protestant bias in the apparently neutral philosophy of the new schools. Their fears--and those of other Catholics--caused the immigrant community, led by its churchmen, to willingly shoulder the great financial burden of establishing and maintaining a vast network of independent parochial schools.

Catholic education initially made slow progress in Boston because of the thoroughly English and anti-Catholic nature of its citizens. The first school of any repute was established on a plot of land adjoining a church on Franklin Street in 1820 by two Irish sisters, the Misses Ryan, from Limerick. Subsequently moved to Charlestown, it was destroyed in 1834 by an anti-Catholic crowd. Catholic children often attended the public schools through lack of an alternative. However, the influx of Irish immigrants rapidly changed the character of the community. The first parochial school in New England was established in 1844, the first secondary school in 1854, and Catholic higher education began with the opening of Boston College in 1864.

The future of the Catholic schools may well be bound up with the fate of Irish-Americans as an ethnic group. Increasing prosperity and success has changed the attitude of the descendants of the immigrants towards their church. While they continue to be favorably disposed toward the Catholic schools, the Irish as a group are rapidly approaching complete assimilation and identification with middle-class ideals and no longer feel the need to cling to their religion as a badge of identity. They thus have come to attach far less importance to religious education.

3. Politics

The immigrants displayed a remarkable facility for politics and quickly came to wield considerable power. They were naturally attracted to the Democratic party. While Jeffersonian Democrats in the late 1790's and early 1800's extended a welcome to immigrants and professed an egalitarian political philosophy, the Federalists and their Whig successors, in their identification with wealth, property, and Anglo-Saxon Protestant nativism, recalled to the Irish the Protestant ascendancy of the old country. In the 1850's, when the Republican party began to challenge the Democrats, the new party was seen as another expression of nativism and did not attract the Irish Catholic vote.

By 1900, Irish politicans occupied leadership positions in Democratic organizations in most of the large cities in the U.S. New York's Tammany Hall represented the greatest organizational achievement of the Irish, a vast hierarchical system that evolved from original ward committees, descending from the boss and the county leaders to block and building captains. However, outside of New York City, Irish politics was not so centralized and in Boston, for example, resembled a clan system with a number of bosses controlling distinct areas. The foundations of the Chicago machine perfected by Richard Daley were not laid until the 1930's.

There are conflicting evaluations of the role which Irish-Americans have played in political life. It has been argued that the Irish political machines were primarily concerned with their own perpetuation and were unable to make imaginative use of the power they had at their disposal because they simply did not employ politics as an instrument of social change. On the other hand, Irish-American politicians maintain that they employed the power of the political organization to provide coal, food, jobs, and bail for struggling constituents. Irish hostility to political reform was not a defence of corruption so much as a response to nativism, since the reformers as a group were more interested in driving the Irish Catholics from office than they were in improving the economic status of the urban poor.

The election to the presidency of John F. Kennedy in 1960 marked the pinnacle (thus far) of Irish-American political power. It was also a measure of the extent to which tension between Irish Catholics and Anglo-American Protestants had eased with the assimilation of the descendants of the immigrants into American society.

4. Ethnic Identity

The financial commitment of the Irish immigrants to Catholicism was more than a profession of religious faith. It represented their continuing loyalty to an institution that was at the core of their ethnic identity, both at home and in the New World. The schools established under the auspices of the church claimed to provide the best route to assimilation because the teachers were familiar with, if not actually sprung from, the cultural background of the immigrants and could thus effect a more gradual and painless integration of their students into American society. However, there is no evidence that the parochial schools or the Catholic universities ever fostered pride in the Irish national and cultural heritage. Irish-American educators emphasized a medieval tradition stemming from Augustine and Aquinas, in which Ireland did not participate to an appreciable extent, and all but ignored a body of work in Gaelic that forms the oldest vernacular literature in Western Europe. An ethnic consciousness based solely upon adherence to the Catholic faith became increasingly threatened as the need for solidarity in the face of persecution--imperialism at home, nativism in the New World--decreased. The irony is that, in encouraging assimilation without providing a basis for ethnic awareness distinct from religious affiliation, the Catholic church seems to have prepared the way for its estrangement from the descendants of the immigrants. In losing a sense of themselves as a distinct and disadvantaged group, which was the inevitable consequence of assimilation and prosperity, Irish-Americans seem also to have relinguished the need to identify with that institution which for so long had been the bulwark of their ethnicity.

5. Family Patterns

A lack of awareness of historical and ethnic heritage notwithstanding, many Irish-American families still follow the traditional family and social patterns of the home country. The Irish-American character, at least that of members of earlier generations less assimilated in terms of intermarriage and upward social mobility, has much in common with that of the native Irish.

The descendants of the immigrants have inherited their predecessors' almost legendary sense of humor, which can easily shift from banter into mimicry and ridicule. Teasing and humorous criticism are common in

242

Irish-American family relationships and are sometimes used as a way to avoid responsibility and intimacy. There is a high tolerance for non-realistic thinking and eccentricity within the family circle, which is paired with a concern for propriety and respectability in regard to obligations outside the family. A prohibition on aggressive behavior or verbal emotionality leads to indirect expression of feelings and consequent accumulation of resentment that can give rise to the tacit termination of relationships. However, these tendencies are balanced by the deep sense of responsiblity and loyalty that the Irish feel toward blood relations. Catholic Irish-American society is predominantly matriarchal, with the strongest emotional tie being that between mother and son.

Unfortunately, the Irish fondness for drink is not entirely an aspect of a fallacious stereotype. The Irish have an extremely high rate of alcoholism, both in Ireland and in the U.S. They do not censure regular drinking, possibly in unspoken recognition of its function as an outlet for feelings elsewhere frustrated. Repression is a significant aspect of Irish culture. According to the World Health Organization, the Irish in Ireland have the highest rate of mental illness in the world. In the U.S., the Irish until recently, had the highest psychiatric admission rate of all ethnic groups, particularly for schizophrenia and alcholism.

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B. Community Studied

The city of Rumfield (pseudonym) is a residential suburb of Boston and has a population of 60,000. Its history dates back to the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630. A group of English industrialists settled in the area, and in 1892 the town was incorporated as a city. In the seventeenth century, the river banks were the sites of fertile farms, and the tides of the river supported a number of thriving fisheries. The manufacturing of brick and tile, the making of barrels, and the slaughter of animals were some of the earliest industries. Although two ships of one hundred tons each were built in Rumfield in the 1630's, the shipbuilding industry did not begin to flourish until the nineteenth century. Rum was distilled for two hundred years until 1905, and its fame contributed to the prosperity of the town. The navigable river was a substantial economic asset, and Rumfield developed into a supply depot for New Hampshire and Vermont, furnishing many food-stuffs as well as rum, iron, steel, and gunpowder. The shipbuilding industry came to an end in 1873, as the wooden ship became obsolete.

In 1900, the population of the city was 18,244; by 1920, it had grown to about 40,000. For two hundred years the people of Rumfield were mostly of English stock, whose religious outlook was Protestant. However, the ship yards and brick yards gradually attracted people of different economic status, ethnic background, and religious orientation, among whom were the Irish immigrants. By 1887 there were 786 persons from Ireland and 325 from French Canada living in Rumfield--and only a single Italian. Roman Catholics formed 11% of the population and already had their own parish. Statistics from the U.S. Census of 1970 reveal the extent of the development in this century. In a population of more than 60,000, 35% are listed as being "of foreign stock." Of the 26,579 persons of foreign stock, 42.7% were from Italy, 17.8% from Canada, 14.4% from Ireland, 5.9% from Great Britain, and 4.4% from Russia. Thus, the Irish-Americans constitute a relatively small proportion of the total population, and can hardly be said to have had a decisive influence on the character of the city.

Although Irish immigrants made up almost one third of Boston's population in the mid-nineteenth century, most of this population flowed into the neighborhoods of South Boston and Charlestown. The move to the suburbs did not take place until the descendants of the immigrants began to achieve a significant degree of upward social mobility, a trend which became increasingly prevalent after the 1920's. In general, the exodus from the inner-city ghettos and consequent assimilation resulted in a loss of that sense of ethnic solidarity which had sustained the immigrants. However, South Boston continues to constitute an exception to the rule, as a depressed urban area whose working-class inhabitants are acutely conscious of the need for communal solidarity in the face of what is seen as outside interference (e.g., the resistance to court-ordered busing in the 1970's to South Boston High School of students from the neighboring black community of Roxbury).

It would be hard to imagine two communities as different as the Irish-Americans in South Boston and Rumfield. Whereas the Irish of South Boston are fiercely proud of their neighborhood, and seem almost to have no other desire than to be left to themselves, their cousins in Rumfield might be said to constitute a community in name only and to conceive of themselves as belonging to a particular social class rather than to an ethnic group. No doubt this is partly due to their relatively small numbers. Most of the towns and cities of Greater Boston have their quota of Irish-Americans, and Rumfield is not distinguished as particularly

Irish in character from most of them.

With a median income of its wage earners of slightly more than $11,000, Rumfield can probably be classified as a middle-class district with an appreciable proportion of working-class residents. Its registered Democrats outnumber Republicans by a factor of almost 5. Many of its dwellings house two or three families; the buildings are in good repair, and the residential areas are clean and well maintained. Duplex houses predominate, with a more affluent belt of detached homes to the north and apartment buildings to the south and west. There are fifteen Protestant churches, six Catholic churches, and a Jewish synagogue in the city. Elementary schools number seventeen; three junior high schools serve the needs of 1,500 students; there are four private and parochial schools, one public high school, and the Rumfield Vocational-Technical High School. In addition, a nationally-known university is situated in the city.

The Sharman Junior High School is a pleasant four-story brick building in a quiet area adjacent to Kellogg Street. It draws its students mostly from the immediate neighborhood, though a small number come from as far away as the "Ridge" and East Rumfield. The school corridors are wide and airy; there is a large assembly hall in which we spoke to Irish-American students selected by the teachers.

Almost all of the families with whom we worked can be described as lower middle-class. In most cases, both parents are employed outside the home, and siblings old enough to work were expected to contribute to the family economy. The homes were neat and well-kept, though their degree of luxury seemed to indicate aspirations to social advancement rather than the achievement of affluence. With one exception, all the parents were concerned about giving their children, both boys and girls, a college education, and they were under no illusion as to the nature of the financial burden which this would entail.

We were invariably made welcome in the homes of the people who participated in the study, and we are grateful for their cooperation. We hope that this report and the findings of the study will go some way toward helping them to understand the cultural heritage and the experiences of their children. Naturally the names of the students we worked with and many personal details of our conversations with them have been altered to protect their privacy.

C. Methodology

1. Work With Students

The fieldwork described in this report was conducted by Pierce Butler, a graduate student in education, and Peggy McDonough, an elementary school teacher.

Butler was born and grew up in Ireland. He had been living in the U.S. for more than a year at the time which the fieldwork began. His research interests include the history of Irish immigration and the development of Catholic education, in both Ireland and in the U.S. He spent three years as a member of the engineering faculty of an Irish university, where his teaching experiences directed his interests toward the sociology of educational institutions. In the process of making a career change, he was eager to gain experience of qualitative research in social science and to work in an Irish-American community.

McDonough's background is Irish-American. She grew up in a community adjacent to Rumfield, and worked in public and parochial schools in the Boston area as an elementary teacher. During the period in which our study took palce, she was also attending graduate school in the evenings, obtaining a Master's degree in 1981 with a specialization in elementary school reading.

The present report was written by Butler.

The original conception of the qualitative portion of the study projected that the fieldworkers would immerse themselves in the homes, neighborhoods, schools, and peer groups of the participating students. However, in view of our other commitments, and the financial limitations of the study itself, such total involvement with the students and their families was not feasible. In order to maintain regular contact with our subjects and to give them a sense of the continuity of the study, we decided to meet with each student once a week, for a period of an hour to an hour and a half. This schedule seemed preferable to spending an entire day or afternoon with each student on a relatively infrequent basis, since in the interval between such meetings our subjects would have time to forget about us, and the trust which we had labored to establish on the previous occasion might be dispelled. Besides, the twenty hours per week which each fieldworker planned to divide among the proposed sample of eight students each did not allow for extended periods of observation.

However, these short weekly periods of contact with our subjects necessitated a somewhat different approach to the collection of data from that envisaged previously. It is difficult to immerse oneself in the life of a young teenager for one hour per week. He or she may be apathetic when the researcher arrives; some family or peer group event may have caused upset or distraction. We realized that, if we were to be merely passive observers of our students' exchanges with families and friends, then quite a number of meetings might go by without providing relevant data. Difficulties of access to an appropriate community had already curtailed the time available for the fieldwork, finally conducted over a six-month period, instead of the projected nine months. We decided therefore to be sensitive to whatever interaction with parents and peers happened during our meetings with the students, but also to attempt to "prompt" our subjects by conducting brief, informal interviews based on the areas in which we sought data. In any case, the young teenagers we worked with were more responsive to us in this role than when we were just "hanging around," as if they were more comfortable in a structured situation.

In order to preserve a degree of informality, and because we suspected that our students might be more reticent if their conversations were recorded, we decided against the use of tape recorders; for the same reason, we rarely took notes in their presence. The "interview" process enabled us to gather a large amount of data in a relatively short period of time but it is important to keep its limitations in mind. It inevitably formalized the relationship between researcher and subject, and perhaps inhibited the development of the ease and trust which enables the traditional fieldworker to gain significant insights into the lives of others. There is no way to describe fully the effect of the presence of an adult outsider upon the day-to-day behavior of a teenager, but this influence must be considerable when the observer persistently creates an artificial situation, namely, an interview, in order to gain knowledge of what happens when he or she is not present. The description of our encounters with the students is bounded by these constraints.

Since the study aims to identify "desirable combinations of home and school environment characteristics," the home and the family have been the primary focus of our inquiries. The central hypothesis of the study is that the various aspects of a student's perceptions of home and school may be positively related to "school success." With this in mind, the researchers specifically probed each student's perceptions of his or her home environment. We examined peer group interaction, as well as the student's perceptions of community, neighborhood, and school, only to the extent that such "external" experiences bear upon his or her impressions of home. There is no attempt, therefore, to give a comprehensive description of the world of an Irish-American seventh grader. We have tried to give an account of the students' lives within the context of their homes and families, as described by the subjects themselves and as perceived by the fieldworkers during weekly meetings.

Our field data were intended to provide a basis for the "Home Climate Questionnaire" (HCQ), the items which were to be generated in discussions with the fieldworkers studying other groups of students after we had identified aspects of our subjects' experience which seemed most relevant to the hypothesis. However, because of time constraints, and because the fieldwork began in Rumfield later than in the other communities, the gathering of field data and generating of questionnaire items proceeded simultaneously during the latter months of the fieldwork. We administered various drafts of the questionnaire to our subjects in order to assess the value and relevance of proposed items. The establishment of questionnaire categories at this stage may have unconsciously influenced our choice of "relevant" data in subsequent meetings with the students. We have tried to remain sensitive to such inadvertent selection of information and to the tendency to seek confirmation of the relevance of the pre-established categories.

This ethnography is based on an average of ten meetings with each of the students. For the initial meetings, we agreed to take a flexible approach: our primary objectives were to explain the study to the participants, attempt to excite their interest and active cooperation, and try to establish a degree of rapport. One meeting with each student was devoted to the collection of necessary demographic data: ethnic background of parents, family history, number of siblings, etc. We tried to vary the format of subsequent meetings so that informal interviews alternated with activities or expeditions, during which we accompanied the subjects as they went about their everyday business in their homes and in the neighborhood, or attempted to involve them in our own plans. The students appreciated--and even came to demand--this variety. For most of them, the final meeting with the researcher entailed a trip to some place in which the student had expressed an interest.

2. Profiles of Individual Students

Tim: Tim's father is Irish-American, his mother Italian. He has one sister who is 21 years old. Tim seemed to enjoy the visits of the researcher more than any of the other boys. He is exceptionally articulate for his age, and though not indifferent to baseball and the various sports that are the chief preoccupations of the other students, he is able to speak intelligently about politics, pollution, and social injustice.

Tim is already very much a part of an adult world, whereas his peers in the sample have at best only a tenuous connection with the world outside of schools and sports. He has a highly developed sense of fairness and responsibility; he tends to deplore the behavior of students who do not look upon school as an opportunity for learning, and to emphasize the binding force of his obligations to his parents and teachers, whose interests are largely identical with his. Yet there is surprisingly little partiality in his judgements; he is astute enough to see that environment and circumstances may be critical influences on "kids who get in trouble." He is serious, a little slow to respond to humor, and seems to approach each new phase of his life with a view to consolidating his ethical system!

Tim has devoted a considerable amount of thought to planning his career. He would like to be a famous sportsman, but is realistic enough to know that his chances are slight. He is attracted by the prospect of a career in the Navy; the ideas of discipline and service probably appeal to the "dutiful" aspects of his character. For someone so articulate, his academic record is not good. He thinks therefore that as an alternative to college he may prefer to do something that involves working with his hands.

Tim is shy, obviously sensitive, very reticent in regard to his feelings. He gets on very well with his older sister and with his father. The only possible source of tension in the family is the relationship between mother and son. Tim identifies with his father's heritage and considers himself Irish.

Robbie: Robbie lives with his mother, to whom he is very close. She is a young energetic person, actively involved in a career. Robbie is encouraged to be independent, though he and his mother spend quite a lot of time with each other and take vacations together. Robbie's mother and father separated when he was quite young. He does not know his father and does not wish to, since he feels that his father mistreated his mother and himself. His father is of Italian origin, his mother Irish-American.

Robbie's chief interest is football. He is apparently quite a skillful player and has hopes of becoming a professional. His mother attends all his games. Otherwise Robbie's career plans are vague. He thinks that he may go to college, but his choice may depend more upon the status of the school's football team than on its academic prestige. Robbie is a good student and occupies a place in one of the higher divisions.

His character is good humored and complacent. He has no strong feelings about school and does not express much interest in what happens there. He is easily bored and a little moody. He is more forthcoming than most of the other students about his personal life, his girlfriends, and the peer society of his neighborhood. But he is slow to express enthusiasm, and despite a frequently articulated interest in the project, Robbie often seemed quite indifferent to or bored by the sessions.

Jeff: Jeff's parents are second and third generation Irish-Americans. Jeff is the youngest of a large family, all of whom have now left home. His parents soon gave me to understand that he is something of a "problem kid." He is quite intelligent and has been in one of the higher divisions in school for some time. Of late, his grades have not been good, and he was obliged to study during the summer months in order to catch up.

Jeff is a small, good looking, energetic kid, who finds it all but impossible to sit still and participate in conversation with the researcher. He is apparently very popular in the neighborhood and is usually to be found in the nearby park, playing baseball with his friends.

Jeff's parents may have persuaded him to participate in the study and he probably did so partly against his will. From the beginning he seemed determined to frustrate efforts to involve him, by arriving late for meetings and refusing to respond to questions. Only occasionally was it possible to interest or distract him. He finally asked to be excluded from the study some weeks before it terminated.

Jeff seems to regard the world of adults with a certain amount of hostility. He is dismissive or openly critical of adult concerns, and delights in relating anecdotes which portray him defying adult authority. In regard to school, he is indiscriminately critical of both teachers and students. Jeff has hardly a good word to say for anyone!

He is probably the most uninhibited subject in the group, being quite willing--if the humor should take him--to talk about himself and his affairs. He seems to have had a lot of girlfriends and can even imagine himself being married to his current heart-throb. Of his career plans he has very little to say; he thinks that he may go to college, but his plans are not well-defined.

Jeff responds more readily to the authority of his mother than to that of his father. He seems to feel that it is possible to assert his own will against his father, whereas his mother's injunctions hold more force.

Paul: Paul asked to be released from his commitment to the study after only two meetings. Based on this brief contact, my impression is that he was the least autonomous of the group of male students. Most of his activities seemed to center around his home, all of his friends lived on his street, and he seemed to be subject to a great variety of restrictions in regard to his movements in the neighborhood.

The mother again appeared to be the dominant figure in this household, with the father playing a secondary and passive role during the researcher's meetings with the family. There were two other siblings who were quite uncomfortable in these sessions also. Paul himself did not seem uncomfortable. His behavior was occasionally more childish than one would expect from a boy of his age. He seemed more involved in fantasy games and less interested in competitive sports than the other male subjects.

Andy: Andy's parents are both of Irish descent. He has three sisters who are older than him and a younger brother. He is a small, polite, diffident youngster, who willingly answered all questions as best he could, despite being a little bemused by it all.

Andy's chief interest is baseball. His father is very proud of the trophies which his son has won in the course of his career. Much of Andy's life centers around the team. His parents drive him to and from the games and take a considerable interest in his progress.

Andy has no strong feelings about school. As far as he is concerned, everything there is as it should be, which is nevertheless no cause for rejoicing. He is a very inexpressive youngster. His lack of affect is most marked when he comes to talk about his family. He seemed to feel obliged to emphasize his sense of solidarity with his brother and sisters in the face of potentially threatening questions while at the same time being unable to speak with enthusiasm of family activities. It seems that the family socializes almost exclusively with relatives and extended family, and that Andy is somewhat isolated from the larger world of neighborhood and peer groups.

This was perhaps the only family in which the father was a dominant figure. Andy's father was also one of the few people to have taken more than a cursory interest in his ethnic background. For Andy, however, as for most of the subjects, this background did not seem to contribute to a sense of identity, despite the father's enthusiasm.

Andy's plans for the future are vague. The most definite thing he would say is that he might prefer to live alone rather than get married.

Jim: Jim is a shy, self-conscious, good-natured youngster who suffers from a learning disability. The family atmosphere is very warm and supportive. Apart from older siblings who have left the home, Jim has a younger brother and sister and an older brother. His attitude toward the younger siblings is very protective and helpful. During visits he felt obliged to take the role of host and to entertain the fieldworker.

Jim thinks that he would like to be a truck driver when he leaves school. He does not seem to be under any pressure from his parents to improve his academic standing. He feels that his parents allow him to do almost anything that he wants to do, and he identifies with their interests completely.

Jim also displays a curious lack of affect which does not appear to result from inhibition in the presence of the researcher. He is most comfortable talking about his sporting successes or his short-wave radio, and he became quite embarrassed on the few occasions on which he was asked about more personal matters.

He is most impressed by persons who are considerate and helpful to him, like his older sister who does not live at home. He has nothing critical to say about school and is quite happy with his progress in a remedial class. Though he points to certain restrictions which his father has placed upon his movements outside the home, the mother seems to be the significant authority figure.

(Parallel sketches of the girls participating in the study are not available.)

3. The Search For a Community

An account of an unsuccessful attempt by the researchers to gain access to schools and families in the community of Stapleton (pseudonym) may serve to identify some of the problems which the researchers encountered in getting in touch with the subjects.

In late January of 1980, a meeting was arranged between the Principal of East Stapleton Junior High and John Herzog, the co-principal investigator of the study. Having explained the ramifications of the research and the role which we wished the school to play, Herzog reported that the principal seemed very interested and had undertaken to recommend cooperation to the Superintendent and the School Committee, whose approval he felt would be a matter of course.

Throughout February, we waited for the decision. Eventually, early in March, we were informed that the Superintendent of Schools was not in favor of assisting the study. The stated reason was that the school system was "politically tired," having just emerged from a contract dispute with its teachers and a lengthy school bond campaign. The Superintendent did not wish to invite any persons into the East Stapleton School who might conceivably give rise to further conflict.

We decided to approach the Catholic school of St. Agnes, also in Stapleton; McDonough, a teacher in a sister Catholic school, was selected to make the initial contact. The Principal expressed a guarded interest and invited Herzog, Butler, and McDonough to explain the study at a meeting of the School Board. At this meeting, which took place in the last week of March, the Principal impressed upon us that we were expected to take up no more than thirty minutes of the Board's time. Herzog outlined the scope and duration of the study, while Butler and McDonough spoke briefly about their respective backgrounds and their motivation. During the ensuing questions, it became clear that certain members of the Board harbored reservations about the study. The result, therefore, was not entirely unexpected. On the following day, the Principal informed us that the Board had voted against participation in the study. Some of the members were concerned about "invasion of privacy," one feeling that the project might be a misuse of Federal money.

Our first contact with the community of Rumfield was made by William Genova, the principal investigator of the study, who spoke to the town's Superintendent of Schools and to the Principal of Sharman Junior High School. The Superintendent was favorably disposed towards the study, while the Principal seemed wary and spoke of the many demands upon his time. He was assured that we wished to use the school simply as a means of identifying and getting in touch with seventh graders of Irish-American background, and he kindly put the enrollment and division lists of his seventh graders at our disposal.

The next step was to identify students of Irish-American background. We decided to elicit the help of some of the parents in the community; with this end in view, two members of a parents' group associated with Sharman were invited to a staff meetinq, also attended by the fieldworkers in the other communities participating in the study. After the meeting, Butler and McDonough talked at length with the parents, both mothers of teenagers attending Sharman, though these students were not in the seventh grade and thus unlikely to take part in the study. Both women were aware of being partly of Irish descent, as well as Italian and English, respectively. The upshot of this conversation was a meeting at the home of one of the mothers, to enable the researchers to meet more parents and to explain the study to them in more detail.

Some of the parents invited to this meeting did not attend, with the result that we met only two new members of the community. The atmosphere was friendly and relaxed. Both of the principal investigators were present. Butler and McDonough spoke about their interest in an connections with the Irish-American community. Though we were disappointed at the small turnout, we felt the meeting provided additional contacts and aroused interest in the study. A part of the meeting was spent in attempting to identify

Irish-American seventh graders at the Sharman school. One mother looked over the enrollment lists with us and indicated those students whom she felt, from her knowledge of the community were of Irish descent. We emerged with a list of names, totalling about twenty boys and twenty girls, though we could not be certain that these teenagers considered themselves as Irish-American or that they would be interested in taking part in the study, assuming that we could obtain their parents' consent.

Both of these meetings took place in April. At this point, we realized that many of the students whom our informants had labelled "Irish-American" came from "mixed" families, i.e., they were the children of parents whose respective ethnic backgrounds were different. The predominant white ethnic groups in Rumfield are Irish and Italian, and a number of the families we met claimed descent from both cultures. Finding ourselves in a neighborhood in which it would be difficult to choose families of exclusively Irish antecedents, we decided to adopt a criterion of ethnicity based on the child's own conception of his or her own background and "roots." If a prospective subject had some sense of being "Irish" or "Irish-American," then we would include him or her in the study, irrespective of other cultural influences upon the family. It remained to find an efficient way to contact the students and their parents.

Early in May, the researchers met with the Principal of the Sharman school. This meeting was arranged by the Assistant Principal, to whom McDonough had spoken in April. It was impressed upon us that we should be punctual since the Principal was particularly busy that day. Unfortunately, only McDonough was present at this interview. She formed an impression of the Principal as a brusque and efficient, though not unfriendly, administrator. He was not opposed to the study but appeared too preoccupied with other school matters to express more than a passing interest. We were referred to the seventh grade teachers for further assistance.

Before the end of May, the researchers met twice with two of these teachers. We passed on to them the names of the students identified as Irish-American by the parents to whom we had spoken, and discussed ways of contacting these students. The Principal had expressed opposition to the idea of taking these students out of the classes in order to attend a meeting at which we would explain the study to them. However, the teachers found a way to arrange such a gathering after the last class on a particular afternoon, thus minimizing interference with the school day.

We asked the teachers to review our list of "Irish" students and to make additions or deletions as they saw fit, keeping in mind that we were seeking a more or less even distribution in terms of school "success" among the eight boys and eight girls with whom we hoped to work. One of the teachers opposed inviting all forty students to the proposed meeting. She felt that since we required only sixteen subjects, many students would be disappointed engendering ill feelings towards the study. She suggested a reduced sample of twenty-four and undertook to instruct specific youngsters to attend the meeting. We agreed to this suggestion, though with some misgivings as to whether the procedure would yield the required number of subjects. The teachers distributed a single sheet of paper to the selected youths, upon which we had summarized the aims of the study and the extent of their requested participation. Simultaneously, we sent a letter to the students' parents, introducing ourselves and describing the study in some detail.

Twice postponed, the meeting finally took place in mid-June. Sixteen students attended. The researchers introduced themselves and spoke informally for a few minutes. We told the students that we would be contacting their parents, whose permission would be required, but we were careful to emphasize that we would not report information gathered from participants to parents or teachers. Several of the boys and girls approached us afterwards and expressed interest. We collected the names of eight students who said that they would like to take part if their parents would allow them. It was very encouraging to have made contact at last with these seventh graders, after months of preliminaries.

There followed a series of meetings with parents, during which the researchers continued to explain the study. Most parents were interested and even enthusiastic; they talked freely about themselves and their families, and opened their homes to us without reservation. Many were embarrassed to admit that they knew little about their ancestral homeland, but they recalled details of family history with pride and seemed flattered by our interest in their backgrounds. One young mother was happy that the Irish rather than the Italians of Rumfield had been chosen as the object of the study.

With few exceptions, the parents we spoke to were favorably disposed to their son's or daughter's participation in the study, though they invariably left the final decision to the child. Several expressed regret that their child's impending absence from the area during the summer vacation would prevent him/her from working with us. In one case, the parents' interest appears to have a coercive influence on the child, and this subject, one of the boys, became increasingly more uncooperative as the study progressed, dropping out some months before its completion. Interestingly, one of the two persons who expressed skepticism about the aims of the study and the motives of the researchers was an Irish immigrant.

Of the twelve boys contacted, six agreed to begin the study. One of these dropped out after the first meeting with Butler, protesting that "all these questions make me uncomfortable." Of the twelve girls four began and continued to participate in the study, while two others made tentative commitments to begin working with us at a later date. Thus, we began with a total of ten subjects -- six less than the proposed sample. We hoped that friends of students already involved would be drawn in as the study progressed, but this did not occur.

In the next sections of the field data are presented under headings that correspond to the Domains of the Home Climate Questionnaire: Relationships, Personal Development, and Organization. Although we did not approach the adolescents with these categories in mind, the data can be conveniently ordered through use of them, provided the following definitions are kept in mind.

Under Relationships, the students' perceptions of interaction and communication with their families will be discussed. We try to identify non-verbal nuances of behavior that contribute to the emotional climate of a family, as well as verbal expressions of affection or resentment. The section headed Personal Development contains a discussion of various aspects of identity such as ethnicity, religious commitment, and aspirations, plus a depiction of parental interest in the development and success of their children, as perceived by the students. Under Organization are subsumed those aspects of family life and activity in which the child perceives structure and organization (or lack of these), including a treatment of relationships between the family -- both as a unit and in terms of its individual members -- and significant external agencies and persons. As explained above, the primary focus of interest is the home environment; all other aspects of the subjects' experiences are treated in relation to this.

D. Relationships

The task of eliciting information and making inferences about personal relationships within the family especially dramatized for the researchers the small portion of the students' lives they were allowed to observe and the potentially inhibiting effect of the observers' presence. They felt frustratingly restricted to the fringes of a whole world of fascinating interaction to which they could not gain access, partly because of the relative infrequency of their visits to the families, which must have prevented them from feeling completely at ease, and partly because of the reticence of individual students when questioned about family matters.

1. Cohesiveness and Involvement

When asked to describe their feelings about other members of their families or about the family as a whole, the students consistently avoided negative evaluations, as if called upon to evince solidarity in the face of the unpleasant suggestion of an outsider. For example, the question, "Is your family close?", was invariably answered in the affirmative. A number of our subjects considered questions touching upon the possibility of family discord "too personal" for them to answer candidly, and in general inquiries into the dynamics of family behavior were met with mild impatience or incomprehension, as if the children were surprised that we could imagine the atmosphere of their homes to be other than harmonious.

Yet their behavior was sometimes in contradiction to their assertions; it appears that the youths' were to defend the family against the inferences supposedly contained in some of the questions. It may also be that young teenagers -- and not only those of Irish-American background -- encounter the world of emotions and personal relationships in a largely unreflective manner, so that they are at a loss when asked to articulate their perceptions, automatically giving a reply which they think reveals them to the researcher in the most favorable light. Most weight, then, is to be placed upon information from observation, though the presence of the researcher must always be considered as an inhibiting factor. All of the data presented below were elicited in interview sessions, with the subject's perception of the researcher's intentions perhaps functioning as an obstacle to frankness. The data from fieldwork will be presented with frequent reference to individual students, leaving discussion and interpretation to the final section of the report.

There are five other siblings in John's family, two of whom are older than he. The younger siblings get along well together and seem more inclined to help each other than to quarrel. John's younger brother and sister are very interested in the fieldworker's conversations with him and linger in the background, occasionally interjecting comments. Occasionally John asks them mildly to stop interrupting but he does not appear to resent their presence. All three children are puzzled when asked if their parents praised them for doing something good. Their parents are appreciative and concerned, they insist, and do lots of different things for them, but they cannot recall receiving encouragement or praise.

Andy's parents are very responsive to his material needs. He says that his father has gone to a considerable amount of trouble to get him a new board game that Andy saw at a friend's house. Andy's parents attend a football game in which he plays, but make no comment on his performance upon meeting him afterwards, even though he played well.

A significant number of the boys seem strongly attached to the mother of the family, though only two of them express their attachment in gestures of affection. Jeff is the youngest child of a large family, all of whom have left home. At the first meeting, he is restless and bored. His mother's presence serves as a temporary distraction from the unwelcome queries of a stranger. He leans his elbow on her shoulder and puts his arm around her, as if the researcher were not there. Even after the stranger is introduced, Jeff continues to devote all his attention to his mother until she leaves, seeming to exclude the outsider rather than seeking protection from her. Andy also expresses affection for his mother, though under somewhat different circumstances. Putting his arm around her waist, he mentions a cousin who was visiting the family and inquired whether the relative is to be allowed to ride his younger brother's bicycle.

Theresa and Kathleen, interviewed together, attempt to distinguish between "criticism" and "teasing." They agree that their parents never criticize them, but feel that they are often teased at home. For the most part, they experience the teasing as a family joke, but sometimes it seems to be done to annoy and they resent this. Beverly says that in her family people show their love for each by "sharing" and "borrowing things," implying that the members of her family are not overtly affectionate with each other.

Andy quickly defends his family against negative inferences he perceived in the interview questions. In response to an attempt to elicit his feelings about his brothers and sisters, he reports that his family members often "go out together." Indeed, the entire family (Andy's parents and three other siblings) assemble on the occasion of the researcher's first visit, though his slightly older sisters soon lose interest and beg to be excused. Andy regards family outings with boredom, even being willing to assert that "Nothing interesting ever happens" in his house. He gets along "pretty well" with his parents; he honestly respects them and tries not to do anything that will hurt them. Yet, in none of the interviews does he express enthusiasm or affection for his parents or siblings, nor talk excitedly about something which they have done together.

Andy cannot answer questions about what his parents' feelings are toward him, responding shyly, "You'll have to ask them." He is puzzled when asked if members of his family show affection for each other openly, and eventually decides that they do not. Perhaps Andy did not understand the question correctly, but direct observation supports his perception. His parents did not joke or laugh with him in the presence of the fieldworker, and Andy himself was almost invariably serious and subdued in these interactions. However, Andy feels that the members of his family compensate for lack of warmth by giving each other gifts at Christmas and birthdays. Yet he remembers that, when his birthday fell while he was on vacation with the family of a friend, he did not get any presents upon his return home.

Andy is sometimes puzzled when his parents "act strange or get upset." A possible explanation of this statement is that normal behavior within the family involves keeping the expression of emotion and strong feelings to a minimum. Andy's parents seem to attend carefully to his needs, as seen in their pride in his football trophies, their willingness to drive him to games, and their concern that he has the best equipment available. But this solicitude seems to lack a crucial affective aspect, making it feel more like the discharge of an obligation than an expression of the parental affection from which it obviously springs.

Andy's parents do not take an interest in his friends, but he does not "see what's wrong with that." In this response, he seems to be reacting against the possible negative judgement contained in the question. He admits that he is punished for disobeying his parents (not physically, but by the imposition of certain prohibitions), but feels the need to defend their actions by saying that, if he were to disobey them, then he would deserve his punishment: "It's your own fault, isn't it, if you're late, or something?"

Although Paul did not participate in the study after the second meeting, the fieldworker was able to observe his interaction with his two sisters, both in their mid-teens. He seems to use the presence of the visitor to embarrass or exert pressure on the younger one, forcing her to leave the room in which she is watching TV because he wants to talk to the interviewer there. Later, he asks her to help him look for something, but she is stoically uncooperative. He asks where his parents are and she tells him curtly that they have gone out. Paul accepts her lack of cooperation in a completely expressionless manner, displaying no irritation and returning to the conversation with the fieldworker.

His decision not to participate in the study came as a surprise, since he had seemed at ease during the first meeting. However, he insisted that the researcher's presence made him uncomfortable. His parents seemed unwilling to throw any light on the matter. The father, a polite and diffident man, ushered the researcher into the room into which he was watching TV before his wife recommended meeting in the kitchen, and subsequently had no comments to make. The initiative to terminate seemed to have come from Paul, but how his parents felt about it and whether the matter had been discussed en famille were impossible to determine.

It appeared that Paul's mother had some reservations about his decision, and the fieldworker's acceptance of it, which she was not disposed to voice. The fieldworker explained that the voluntary cooperation of each student was essential and that her son had not been rejected because he expressed some reluctance.

Andy also appears to use the interview situation to influence his sisters, though in a less calculated way, as when prevailing upon the eldest (who is eighteen) to bring glasses of iced tea to the pair talking on the porch. She seems to resent the request, but felt obliged to observe the forms of hospitality in her mother's absence.

Robbie has never known his father, since his parents are separated. He has a friendly and affectionate relationship with his mother, and spends much time with her. Yet he is noticeably more animated and forthcoming with the research when his mother is not at home. The productiveness of the meetings with Robbie seemed to depend on the current state of his relations with his mother. On one occasion he appears particularly bored and listless. Asked whether he is still interested in the study, he insists that he is enjoying the conversations, appearances to the contrary. His mother comes into the room briefly while we are talking, complaining about being tired and having to cook. Robbie's response to her is minimal and she does not address him directly. He casts a faintly exasperated glance at her as she leaves the room.

The dominant role of the mother is noticeable in almost all of the families. In Jim's home, the father is reticent while the mother is very eager to talk to the researcher about the study. Initially the father's authority is deferred to, since his approval is necessary before Jim may participate in the study, but once received the mother takes all subsequent initiative in dealing with the researcher, to the extent of answering queries about her husband's family and background. This mother appears to be the arbiter of standards in all day-to-day matters, the person who enforces discipline and order in the household, whereas the father's judgement is invoked only on matters of principle, perhaps preserving the illusion of his central authority. Jim's approach to buying Christmas gifts for his parents lends support to this impression. He deliberated at great length over what he should buy for his mother and is far less concerned about the nature of his father's gift, but more likely reveals Jim's perception of him as on the fringe of family activity.

Tim complained that his mother expects more of him than of his older sister who is almost twenty-one. He feels he is frequently blamed for things that happen in the house for which he is not responsible. It appeared to the researcher also that Jim's mother applies stringent standards of discipline to her son's behavior, while the daughter is free to take issue with her edicts. However, the discrepancy may be largely due to the age difference between the siblings.

Jeff's relationship with his mother is more tangible and reciprocal than that with his father. Though reportedly "very bright" and active in school organizations, Jeff is considered by his parents to be something of a "problem child." He resists authority both at home and in school, and seems to have lost interest in his grades. His parents may have hoped that participation in the study would help to effect a reform, and strongly encouraged Jeff to take part in it. Jeff's attitude during most of the meetings was one of passive resistance, occasionally alleviated by a spark of interest or amusement.

Jeff repeatedly flaunts his father's authority and complains of his persistent reproaches. He waits impatiently for each of his father's absences from the house, so that he can invite his friends around to play in the attic, in defiance of his parent's prohibition. While Jeff is in the process of showing his "den" to the researcher, the father calls him in an irritated voice, demanding to know what he is up to. Realizing that a guest is present, the father withdraws in disgruntlement Jeff is using the newcomer's presence to provoke his father, a ploy denied to him by subtle maneuvers in future visits by the researcher.

Jeff is continually aware of his father's disapproval of his exploits, but feels it is not difficult to circumvent his censure. However, he appears somewhat in awe of his mother. Dropping his normal facetious tone for a moment, he reports seriously that his mother "knows everything about me -- I can't fool her!" Numerous instances of his mother's ability to restrain him were observed. She reproaches him variously for having abandoned his bicycle in the park where it might have been stolen, for interrupting her conversation with the fieldworker, and for his ongoing attempts to limit his participation in the study by arriving late for the meetings. He accepts her censure without comment or apparent resentment. She is embarrassed by his behavior toward the researcher, sometimes adopting a fatalistic attitude, shrugging her shoulders, and glancing wryly at that person as if to say, "What is to be done with him?" Yet Jeff never confronts her in the presence of the interviewer, and appears to regard her with affectionate respect.

2. Ethnicity and Religion

Although all the students participating in the study consider themselves to be more or less "Irish" or "Irish-American," their perceptions of the content of this ethnic identity are extremely difficult to elicit. "Being Irish" seems to have no objective correlates; these students can point to no specific activities or organizations in which they participate by virtue of their ethnic background. Nor can they identify any distinguishing characteristics of Irish-Americans as an ethnic group. In their minds, the composition and boundaries of this group are not well-defined. They seem to have acquired a rudimentary sense of ethnic identity from fragments of family history which their parents casually relate to them. Since there is no deliberate and ongoing attempt to make them aware of their background, it is not a significant element in their daily lives and is seldom, if ever, referred to in interaction with peers.

In a sense, the researcher's interest in ethnicity seems to have placed the subjects in a dilemma. They know that they are somehow "Irish," but they cannot explain what this entails or how this knowledge had been engendered. Perhaps it is too much to expect young teenagers to articulate the elements of a sophisticated concept such as ethnic identity. At any rate, their reaction to questions about ethnicity is often bemused or impertinent. They do not know what it means to be Irish, as opposed to Italian, or simply American, yet they are reluctant to say that it means nothing to them, since they perceive it as to some extent bound up with their personal identities and worth as individuals.

Paul tells about an incident that took place at school when one of his teachers remarked that the number of world-famous Italians far exceeded the total of similarly renowned Irish persons. This statement produced some argument among the students belonging to the two groups. Confusion reigned to the end of the class and the argument was carried to the playground. Paul felt that the exchange of insults and nicknames that took place did not indicate ill-feeling. Rather, it functioned as a sort of diversion from the routine of the class. Paul himself defended the Irish. This did not cause friction between him and his Italian friends.

Robbie lives with his mother and no longer has any contact with his father who (Robbie's mother says) is Italian-American. His mother's great-grandparents on both sides came from Ireland, making Robbie fourth generation; they settled in Prince Edward Island and from there moved south to the U.S. Robbie's maternal grandmother was born in Rumfield. His mother does not talk to him about his Irish background, though he thinks he has heard her talk to other people. He does not think that Irish-Americans are different from other kids, though he is proud to be Irish nevertheless. He used to visit his great-grandmother in South Boston, but he does not seem to be aware of the Irish character of that neighborhood.

Both Theresa and Kathleen say that they know something about the country from which their grandparents came, as distinguished from the history of their families. This information, which does not appear very extensive or precise, has been passed on largely via the grandparents. Most of the girls feel that their parents do not emphasize their Irish background in conversation with their children, though Jean asserts that her maternal grandmother "drives me crazy talking about Ireland."

Jeff's father and mother are first and second generation, respectively. His paternal grandparents were both born in the county of Kerry, though they met and married in the U.S. His maternal grandmother was born in South Boston and her husband in central Massachusetts; she visited Ireland once, according to her daughter, but she did not look up any of her relatives there, because she had lost touch with them and no longer knew where they lived. Jeff's father talks enthusiastically about a cousin of his who visited him a few years ago, "from the old country." Both of Jeff's parents enjoyed the visitor very much and think that it would be nice to visit him, in turn, though they do not have any specific plans to do so.

Jeff affects a convincing air of boredom when the subject of ethnic identity is introduced. His parents do not talk to him about his Irish background, though he seems well acquainted with family history if judged by his attempt to correct his mother about the details of a story concerning her parents she told.

Tim's mother is of Italian descent, and his father is second generation Irish. Tim thinks that he has identified with his father's side because his father's relatives left the area and lead relatively exciting lives, whereas his mother's relatives live in the North End of Boston. Tim likes visiting his mother's family, but many of them do not speak English, so that he and his father are sometimes excluded from the interaction. He takes a greater interest in Ireland and things Irish than the other subjects, but his sense of solidarity with the Irish does not seem to have a tangible foundation in his daily life and activities. Most of his friends are Irish-American, but he thinks this is so because there are so many Irish-Americans living in Rumfield. He also has Italian friends, and does not think of them as any different from the Irish.

Andy's father is third generation Irish, mother is second generation. His paternal grandparents lived in Charlestown. His father is very interested in his ancestry and says that he would be glad to give the researcher more detailed information about his family and their travels in the U.S. However, he does not know very much about the family in Ireland and could not identify the part of Ireland they came from. Andy's mother's family lived in western Massachusetts before moving to Fall River, in the southeastern part of the state.

Andy's paternal grandparents never talk to him about Ireland, although his grandmother gave him a shamrock made of Connemara marble on a silver chain which he wears about his neck. His father does not talk to him about family history with the same enthusiasm as he showed in talking to the visitor, but he sometimes reminds Andy that he is Irish by sticking paper shamrocks on his hockey helmet. Andy is aware that there are a great many Irish people in South Boston, but he does not know any more about that neighborhood. He once played hockey against a South Boston team and formed the impression that they are "pretty tough kids."

Jim's mother is the only person in the families we studied who expressed interest in the hunger strike of the Republican prisoners in Belfast, and in the political situation in Northern Ireland. She says that her mother's side of the family came from Ireland, but she does not know when they arrived in the U.S. Her mother-in-law talks a lot about Ireland, but neither she nor her husband knows very much about the history of his family.

Jim has Italian friends and emphasizes that there is absolutely no friction between the Irish-Americans and their Italian neighbors. He does not know how to distinguish the Irish from other ethnic groups, unless "by their freckles." However, he is aware that some Italian parents do not want their children to marry outside their own group. Jim is sure that his parents would not object if he wanted to marry someone who was not Irish-American.

Most of the subjects are required by their parents to attend Sunday school or religious classes held in the evening during the week, but few are enthusiastic about this obligation. Robbie goes to religious class because his mother wants him to, but he sees little purpose to it and thinks that religion is "not that good." Asked if prayers are said in school, he immediately points out that this would be unconstitutional. Jeff's parents expect him to go to Mass, though not every Sunday; he also goes to Sunday school where he learns "all the usual stuff." Andy sees no connection between religion and the "real world." Only Tim finds religious class "interesting" and does not mind going, a fact consistent with his heightened sense of responsibility and his interest in adult concerns.

One of the parents mentioned that her mother sold her house to a South Boston parish for a dollar when she moved to Rumfield to be near her daughter. However, such benevolence is almost completely a thing of the past. Other parents deplore clerical interference in the affairs of the family. One mother considered the number of children she should have as a matter for herself and her husband to determine. Though a Catholic who attends church regularly, she does not feel that theological considerations should prevail over economic necessity.

E. Organization

The households do not seem to be organized in a formal sense; i.e., most parents do not present their children with an explicit network of prohibitions and procedures designed to create an orderly home environment. Yet despite the lack of consciously maintained organization, there is no doubt that the students perceived their parents as persons who could be relied upon to behave in a predictable manner, and their home environments as stable and orderly. Almost all of the parents are concerned about matters such as where their children go when they leave the house, what time they come home in the evenings, how well they do in school, etc. Each household possesses, if not specific regulations, then stable parental expectations and opinions which govern the children's behavior. For the most part, the students seem to appreciate this guidance which they perceive as an expression of their parents' affection and concern. One or two complain that their parents do not allow them enough freedom, but most agree that a prohibition upon talking to strangers, for example, or upon walking alone late at night, is probably justified. Thus they do not resent the restrictions imposed upon them.

1. Chores and Family Activities

Distinctions must be drawn among the organization of household chores, the orchestration of family activities, and the resolution of disagreements arising between members of the family. Although the performance of household chores seems, in general, to be carried out on a fairly informal basis, the degree of order and neatness prevailing in each of the homes leaves one in no doubt that no essential chores are neglected. This orderliness probably results from the mother assuming the burden of household maintenance and delegating only the most minor responsibilities to the children. At any rate, the arrangement seems efficient, whether or not based upon an unequal distribution of labor.

However, with respect to family activities, a more casual approach is used. Neither parents nor children mentioned activities organized for the specific purpose of permitting the family to spend time together, nor did the students refer to anything like family occasions or "traditions" established by their parents. Occasions upon which the family comes together seem, at least partly determined by factors extrinsic to the family itself: the obligation to visit the extended family, for example, or the necessity of entertaining a visitor. Many of the students express a lack of enthusiasm for such occasions and regard them with indifference.

2. Dealing With Problems

It does not seem that family problems are dealt with in an explicit manner, though this may be an aspect of family life from which the researchers were excluded. At any rate, the students do not perceive the use of formal procedures (such as airing a grievance, talking to one or other parent, etc.) for the resolution of difficulties, and most feel that problems tended to be smoothed over without discussion. In a few cases, this seems to have led to lasting estrangements between family members and the extended family. The lack of opportunity or encouragement for siblings to talk openly about their feelings seems consistent with their reticence in the presence of the researcher. However, one should be cautious in inferring the nature of intra-familial relationships from the students' behavior during essentially informal interviews by an outsider.

Robbie says that he and his mother sometimes have disagreements, on account of which they "stop talking to each other," though this does not last very long. However, his mother and his aunt once had a falling out, after which they did not speak to each other for more than a year.

Robbie readily understands when his mother is too busy to spend time with him though it appears to the observer that they actually spend a lot of time together. Robbie's mother seems to make a greater effort than other parents to plan time that she and her son can spend together, probably because that time is limited by her full-time job and because Robbie does not see his father.

It seems that disagreements among the members of Robbie's extended family are not always made explicit, however, Robbie tells of an occasion where a number of his relatives helped his uncle to "move house." The family members became disgruntled because the uncle did not express his gratitude by taking them out for a drink afterwards or by returning the favor in a tangible way. Robbie felt that "everyone was really annoyed with Paddy" but no one said anything to him.

Money is scarce in Robbie's house, and he hopes to get a part-time job, though he insists that his mother has put no pressure on him to do so. If he were working, he would buy his own clothes so as not to have to ask her for money. He helps with the chores, although there is no system; he cleans his own room, and if there are dishes in the sink he washes them. His mother usually washes up after she has cooked a meal, to which the neatness of the kitchen testifies. Robbie also takes part in family discussions, apparently the only one of the youngsters in the sample accorded this privilege. For example, when his mother was wondering whether to ask Robbie's uncle (who is living with them temporarily) to contribute to the household budget, she first talked it over with Robbie and asked him what he thought.

Robbie and his mother have a rather unique relationship. It differs from relationships of the other mothers and sons in the study that Robbie seems to regard his mother as a friend and in return is virtually treated as an equal. Robbie also seems very much at ease in the company of members of his extended family and not at all unwilling to join in the adults' conversation.

3. Structure in the Home

Andy has to ask his parents' permission to do most things. Although they allow him to wear clothes that he prefers when he's leaving the house, they want to know where he is going and at what time he will be home. However, Andy does not feel oppressed or overly constrained by his parents' exercise of authority. On one occasion he thought the fieldworker was implying by his questions that his parents were too strict with him; he was quick to point out that he does not see anything wrong with their rules. Andy often fights with his sisters, but "It's never serious." If one of his sisters is annoyed with him, he will usually talk to his mother about it. His mother then attempts to effect a reconciliation -- not always successfully, he adds with a rueful smile, as though wishing to make light of the matter.

Jim also does not think that his parents are too strict, compared to other parents, but they do have definite rules that they insist upon. Jim does not need permission to leave the house, although his parents expect him to tell them where he is going. They are concerned about what he does outside the home, and he feels sure that he could not get away with lying to them, though of course he would not want to do anything like that. Jim reports that his parents allow him to choose his own friends, but he remembers one particular boy whom his parents disapproved of and with whom he no longer plays. But he asserts that he does not want to play with that kid anymore, anyway.

Jim's parents seem actively to encourage their children to be supportive and helpful to each other. The older siblings who are in college have arranged for the younger children to visit them. Jim's parents like this idea, he says, since it will give him an opportunity to see the college which he hopes eventually to attend. Jim also plays his part in this circle of concern by teaching his younger brother to play tennis. His interest in his brother's progress is obviously genuine, but in addition he is also acting in accord with his parents' expressed wishes.

Tim does not resent his parents' rule that he must not be on the streets alone at night. He thinks Rumfield is not unsafe, but he feels that his parents' attitude is "normal." Tim's parents expect him to go to church unless he has a football game. If he misses Mass on Sunday, he usually goes by himself Monday night.

Tim does not like to go to the beach with his parents whom he thinks are "just a little old-fashioned," this being the strongest criticism of them that he voices. He likes to go with his sister, because he can "wander around on my own and meet girls." He gets on very well with his sister, who sometimes buys him clothes and takes him out to eat with her.

Both Theresa and Kathleen, interviewed together, said that they like to spend time with their parents. The members of each family often watch TV together in their homes, and the girls agree that they feel as comfortable with their parents as with their siblings. Neither family does much visiting, but both girls insist that they like going out with their parents.

Jean and Beverly, on the other hand, live in close proximity to members of their extended families, which causes them a certain amount of discomfort. They agree that "family closeness" was "a pain in the neck," and Beverly said that she felt more free when she lived in Arizona where she had no relations nearby. Both girls come from families in which more emphasis on independence and autonomy seem to be emphasized. Their parents know some but not all of the children's friends, and there is only a slight emphasis on external duties such as church attendance.

In general, the fieldworkers noticed that when alone with them the subjects did not hesitate to make arrangements for subsequent appointments without deferring to their parents. However, when contacted by telephone, they invariably asked their parents' approval of any arrangement, and on a number of occasions parents overruled arrangements that their children had made, apparently without consultation.

4. External Relations

Since the primary concern of the researchers is the home and the students' perceptions of it, the fieldworkers have deliberately not described, to now, the students' experiences of the world outside the organized structures of home and school. However, we gathered an amount of incidental data which may shed some light on the manner in which the home environment influences the students' relations with the outside world. It should be remembered that no systematic attempt was made to study peer relations, for example. The following observations may suggest obliquely how the parents' organization of the home influences the child's interaction with neighborhood and peers.

Jim's family seems unusually close-knit, and the harmonious relations that exist among siblings has already been described. Jim and his younger brother and sister form a group that seems to exclude a visiting cousin, though they never explicitly affirm this solidarity or say anything to their cousin that might make him feel unwanted. However, the cousin reveals his insecurity in a querulous tone and a tendency to make fun of the others, of which they take little notice.

The fieldowrker asked Jim about a photograph in his bedroom. This is a girl whom he met at camp and whom he sometimes talks to on the telephone. The questions appear to make him uncomfortable, and he eagerly returns to the innocuous topic of ice hockey. He has just been to his first dance with his friend Ted. He did not dance with anyone but sat near the speaker and listened to the music. He was afraid that his friend would desert him. But Ted honored his promise and stayed with him for most of the evening.

Jim tells about what he considers an unusual situation existing between his aunt and "the man who we pretend is my uncle." His aunt's companion spends most of his time at her house and goes to his own studio only to sleep. Jim seems to feel that this is a slightly irregular and undesirable arrangement.

Jim is complacent about his popularity among his schoolmates. He knows "almost everyone in the school" and is frequently invited to parties. He has numerous and valuable connections in the neighborhood, including an obliging repair man who visits Jim's sister and maintains Jim's bicycle free of charge.

Rumfield is not very safe, "You could get mugged there," according to Jim. There are some students from the Sharman who frequent the park in West Rumfield, but Jim does not want to reveal their names. South Rumfield is even worse, and "a kid got stabbed" there recently when the police raided a party, "looking for drugs." Sometimes "bad kids" come to Rumfield from other towns. Jim thinks it possible that "some kids from East Boston," turned away from a dance at a nearby parish hall, went to South Rumfield and "stabbed that kid, because he got hurt the very same night."

Andy's family is also close-knit, although this solidarity is in part a defense against an external world which they regard with some mistrust. Andy's parents socialize with other parents whom they have met through Andy's participation in an ice hockey league. However, they do not seem to be on good terms with their immediate neighbors. The people next door have been involved with the police, and Andy's parents have asked him not to associate with them. Neither is the family on speaking terms with the people on the other side of them, because of a dispute that took place a number of years ago that Andy does not clearly remember. Since Andy does not have any close friends in the immediate neighborhood, and none of his relatives lives in Boston, the family is somewhat isolated. This isolation appears to be partly self-imposed. Andy's father in particular seems to prefer associations that are provisional and easy to delimit, which may explain in part why most of the family's friends live at a distance and why relations with immediate neighbors are strained. However, Andy says that his mother formerly conducted Sunday School classes in the house, and both parents were favorably disposed from the beginning toward involvement in the study. It is thus impossible to say that the home is completely closed to the outside world, friction with neighbors notwithstanding.

Andy is more conscious of parts of Rumfield which appear to be more affluent than his own street than of disadvantaged areas. His distinction between the social classes seems to be based on the number of housing units in a particular building. South Rumfield, he believes, is the "same as here," though he points out that he has never been there.

Tim shares Andy's reticence in talking about his relations with the opposite sex. He does not like to go to dances: "The music is too loud, the hall is dark, and you can't really talk to anyone." Tim is not worried about being on the streets after dark because he has "big friends" who look after him. All his friends are "good kids" which means that "They don't get into trouble or anything like that." He seems glad to be able to say that two of his best friends are Black since this proves that he cannot be associated, even indirectly, with the racial prejudices he so frequently deplores.

On one occasion, Tim appeared very flushed when the researcher arrived. Asked if he had been running, he said that he had been "training" at school, but had come home to take a shower, "because of privacy and stuff." Apparently there are no shower stalls at the Sharman.

His parents are on good terms with all their neighbors. They do not visit regularly, although they occasionally invite each other to cookouts. His parents know most of his friends' parents also, but they prefer to socialize with members of the extended family.

Tim thinks that the chief difference between the North End (Boston) -- where his mother's family lives -- and Rumfield is that people are closer to each other in the former neighborhood. South Rumfield is a "working-class neighborhood," the people there "don't have very good jobs and don't earn much money." Tim thinks that "the kids are different, too: more likely to get into trouble and to cause problems in school." He does not know anything about South Boston, beyond the fact that "a lot of Irish live there." He has a vague impression that it is a tough neighborhood.

Jeff is the most assertive and self-confident of the boys, while also the most difficult to deal with. He proudly displays a photograph of a previous girlfriend in the school yearbook. She happens to be one of the prettiest girls, though not, Jeff insists, as pretty as his current girlfriend, Judy, who is "the best-looking girl I've ever seen." Continuing to examine the photographs in the yearbook, Jeff comments upon his schoolmates. Most of his remarks are critical and negative; apparently the only qualities that impress him are good looks and proficiency in sports. He is amused by the plainer girls and laughs at the ugly ones. Pointing to one photograph, he says, "This girl's a lezzie." He knows this because he heard her "ask another girl out."

Jeff himself is a good-looking boy, with dark eyes and hair and handsome features. Of all the subjects, he seems least constrained by parental authority although he lacks obvious attributes of maturity, such as interest in the world of adults and a clear conception of future goals. In fact, Jeff seems disposed to flaunt authority in any shape or form. To the fieldworker's consternation, he lingers on the street in the path of approaching cars, pretending to be self-absorbed, and he frequently discusses confrontations between himself and other kids. Many of his actions are no doubt designed to impress the researcher with his lack of interest in the project, which was evident from our first meeting. But from limited observation of Jeff in the company of his friends, a glimpse of his activities outside house and school is available. Whereas Jeff gives reluctant attention to his mother's admonitions and is careful not to confront school authorities too openly, on the street he allows freer expression to his resentment and contempt for constraints. The activities in which he and his friends engage are harmless enough, viewed separately; for example, one of their pranks was filching drinks of water from the pitchers on the tables in a local restaurant, the main object of which was to aggravate its owner. Displayed here and in other escapades are resentment and suspicion towards authority figures in general, and on occasion even towards peers, which the other students do not seem to share.

Robbie used to have a girlfriend but he does not have one any longer because he is too busy. He has had about ten girlfriends in the last year, he tells me, none for longer than eighteen days. (He is especially precise about the time period.) He was not even going to ask out his most recent girlfriend but "my friends bugged me about it."

Robbie is aware of class differences manifest in the character of different areas within Rumfield itself. He does not, though, have clear impressions of other towns. Robbie concludes that parts of West Rumfield are "rich," since the houses look nicer than those in his neighborhood and many are built of brick. The East Rumfield baseball league is also prosperous, if one may judge from their equipment and their uniforms.

Jean is pretty, articulate, and self-confident. She is not too happy in school and only makes an effort "when I feel like it." She thinks that her parents realize this but it is not a source of concern. In conversation with the researcher, she is quite open and outgoing until the arrival of one of her friends, whereupon she becomes much less spontaneous in her responses. Jean has a boyfriend who is a member of a street gang. However, both she and her friend insist that he is different from the other members of the gang and that, although he "hangs out" with them, he does not get involved in any of the "crazy,bad stuff that some of them are into."

As is the sphere of the youths' personal relationships with siblings and parents, it seems that a great amount of activity was taking place within the neighborhood in which the subjects were involved but from which the researchers were excluded. This was due in part to the intermittent nature of their contact with the community; an incident that greatly impressed a particular boy or girl when it occurred had lost some of its impact when the fieldworker appeared.

But there were also intimations of events which were not intended to be communicated to outsiders. For example, Robbie's uncle threw a tire iron at a car in which some kids from another neighborhood were joy-riding. Jim's brother was involved in a mini-riot at a local theatre during the screening of a movie about a rock concert. Andy's bicycle was stolen by two Black kids who "jumped him" outside a shopping center, and his mother accosted one of the suspects in the street. This latter incident, in particular, caused an upheaval within the family, yet Andy referred to it without emotion, almost as if it had happened to someone else.

The point is that the lives of these seventh graders are infinitely more complex than appears to be the case when one simply "interviews" them. While our primary focus of interest has been upon the home environment, there are innumerable external influences acting upon the home which the nature and limitations of the fieldwork precluded the researchers from studying; these "intangible" or "unknown" factors must be allowed for evaluating the observations set down above.

F. Personal Development

In this section the researchers will present a brief summary of the subjects' perceptions of the potential for learning in their homes and at school, before moving to the larger questions of aspirations, maturity and ethnic identity.

1. School Learning

All of the subjects -- with one notable exception in the case of Jeff -- seem more or less uncritical of their school and teachers, though neither do they describe them with much enthusiasm. Tim thinks that Sharman Junior High School is "not a bad school," and that the teachers are reasonably helpful and responsive to the students. Opinions are divided as to the degree of order with which the school is administered. Some students doubt that what they are being taught will be of any use to them in later life. All perceive as excessive emphasis on discipline, a lack of opportunity for meaningful student influence upon curricula and school activities, and the general difficulty of expressing oneself within the school environment. The teachers are for the most part regarded with indifference or faint hostility, although Tim (who is very much concerned with responsibility and correct behavior) expresses his disapproval of "kids who cause trouble in class." Clearly none of these subjects would be adverse to having a little fun at the teacher's expense, if the opportunity were to arise.

Although Jeff is the highest ranked student taking part in the study, he is also the most critical of the school. According to Jeff, "students do as little as possible. Problems are not dealt with, and most of the kids would rather be somewhere else." As if to emphasize his courage and impudence in the face of authority, he relates two anecdotes in which he was the central figure confronting female teachers who accused him of creating disturbances. He insists that he was not cowed into apologizing and expressed his scorn for his accusers by mimicking them mercilessly.

The girls are evenly divided in their assessment of the school. Jean and Beverly express themselves bluntly: "The place stinks." They agree that teachers are not open or available to students, that the "smart kids" receive better treatment, and that their school work gives them no sense of challenge or feelings of accomplishment. By contrast, Theresa and Kathleen are almost enthusiastic about the school, feeling that the principal was doing a great job "because he is so strict." They both mention the "global classroom" program, which they describe as an opportunity for seventh graders to take part in various cultural events in the city of Boston and to meet other students from different backgrounds. The teacher in charge of this program chooses students who are -- in Theresa's words -- "good, outgoing, interested in class." Both girls had participated in this program. Whereas Jean and Beverly express the joint opinion that the school is a mess, the other pair feel that its activities are usually very well organized.

2. Out-of-School Learning

Outside of school, the primary interest of the boys is sports -- basketball, football, baseball. Only Tim seems to have a more than superficial knowledge of the world of adults, though this does not preclude sharing the interests of his peers. During the first meeting, he spoke intelligently about the relative hazards of Carter and Reagan, deplored a general lack of interest in the consequences of pollution, and criticized the intolerant attitude toward Blacks of some of his southern relatives.

It was hard to ascertain the extent to which his parents encourage these interests. It seems that Tim develops his opinions by watching television and reading the newspapers, that he lacks frequent opportunity to express himself, and that he looked forward to the visits of the researcher.

Andy's parents encourage him not to have negative feelings toward Blacks, and to be polite in public. He does not believe that he learns very much when he goes on trips with them, but sometimes they show him how to do things around the house, like operating the washing machine.

Mike's parents do not encourage him to read, since they say he is always reading and has to be persuaded to go out to play, an assertion that seems questionable. Mike appears to spend most of his time at the nearby park, playing catch with his friends, and was happiest when he could persuade the fieldworker to join them.

3. Aspirations

The aspirations of most of the boys are directed towards careers in sports. A good baseball or hockey team will determine their choice of college and, although aware of the odds against becoming a professional, they do not seem to have thought about what they will do if they do not achieve their primary ambition. Only Tim is realistic about his chances. He remarks that "A kid is as likely to make the big leagues as to make a successful career for himself as a brain surgeon." Tim is going to go to college so that he will be able to find a good job if he does not succeed as a football player. He has also thought of joining the Navy because "You get to travel and learn a trade." He does not want to join the Army because they "only teach you to kill people and what use is that?" Tim's parents do not put pressure on him to study but they do "remind" him frequently, and he is aware that they think he should spend more time at his books.

A number of other students perceive that their parents "do not mind what career they choose, although they are careful to distinguish this lack of parental initiative from indifference. Aspirations toward a career in sports are invariably encouraged and the parents take pride in their children's achievements. Students in the higher divisions at school seem under more pressure to be academically successful, although they do not perceive their parents' behavior as pressure. Those students who are less successful in school, judging from their position in the division lists, feel that their parents' expectations are not demanding: the criterion of a good career seemed to be "satisfaction," rather than "success."

4. Maturity

Only one of the boys seems completely satisfied with his parents' impression of his maturity, as indicated by the degree of autonomy and freedom which they allow him. Paul is perfectly content to remain in the immediate vicinity of his house; all his friends live on his street. He does not share the other boys' interest in sports, and expresses very little curiosity about the world outside his home. He admits that he did not think of visiting the adjoining cities, and anyway he does not know how to travel on his own.

Jeff is at the other end of the spectrum, as regards independent self-assertion. He has made a bus trip to New Hampshire on his own in order to visit his girlfriend, and he insists that his parents place few or no restrictions on his movements. He writes regularly to his girlfriend and is convinced that they will eventually be married. However, his studied indifference to adult authority seems intended to affront, rather than to establish autonomy. Jeff talks with affected familiarity about matters in which adults might consider his interest improper. For example, in the presence of one of his friends, he tells the fieldworker about a radio interview he heard in which a female singer discussed her homosexuality. Jeff's attitude toward the woman is implicitly critical, though it is obvious that he is also fascinated. His friend makes no comment upon his dramatic account of the interview. Jeff's intention seems to be to impress his friend by his familiarity with matters that appear slightly shocking, and (possibly) to elicit some further information of a similar nature from the researcher.

Many of the subjects complain that their parents are overprotective. Parental fears and prohibitions seem focused on the surrounding cities and towns, rather than Rumfield. One mother emphasized that the researcher must not take her son out of the neighborhood, though the stricture may have also been based on a reluctance to commit him to the responsibility of a stranger. The downtown area of Boston is understandably regarded as unsafe. Most of the students are forbidden to go there unaccompanied by an adult, with the exception of Robbie, whose mother works in Boston, and who is free to travel alone by public transport, perhaps because his mother is more familiar with areas outside Rumfield than some of the other parents.

Tim is the only student in the group who takes an interest in community affairs. He deplores the fact that "hundreds of kids" in the neighborhood "hang out" on the streets or in the parks at night, drinking and taking drugs. Yet he is quick to point out that the lack of community facilities contributes to this situation. If the kids had somewhere to go, they wouldn't be out on the streets. Tim has a highly developed sense of fairness and responsibility. He refuses to condemn kids who get into trouble, speculating that family problems or poverty may have a significant influence on their behavior. Of all the students only Tim seems to be attempting to assimilate the complexities of the adult world. In discussing a novel (presumably intended for teenagers) which he borrowed from the school library, he is most impressed by the fact that the actions of the protagonists are not represented as uniformly good and responsible. The other students, though striving for independence to a greater or lesser degree, still look to their parents as arbiters of right and wrong. Tim seems to have gone beyond the bounded world of childhood, attempting to solve some elementary problems of morality for himself.

G. Conclusions

One of the most striking impressions in almost six months of fieldwork concerns the reserve and inhibition that characterized the behavior of most the the subjects. It may be that the visits to each family were not frequent enough to allow full rapport to be established. However, almost all of the students seemed quite at ease in the company of the worker by the time the study ended. The observations thus obtained provide a partial basis for the following speculations about the lives of the youngsters outside the research situation.

Almost without exception these seventh graders are slow to express feelings and emotions of any kind. One might expect young adolescents to have difficulty *articulating* their feelings, since self-expression is an ability highly cultivated even by few adults. However, in addition to responding monosyllabically to questions touching upon personal feelings, these youngsters give little facial or physical indication of what they are feeling at any time, so that it is difficult to ascertain whether they are happy or sad, whether they are positive or negative about the presence of the fieldworker, not to mention about more complex emotions. A number of the subjects shares a manner of speaking that is remarkably inexpressive, a monotone that excludes inflections of feeling. They seldom laugh outright or express enthusiasm for an aspect of their lives that they are discussing. This demeanor does not indicate a lack of interest in the study, we believe, since most of the children continued to assert their interest and to participate in it for the full duration. Their lack of affect appears to be habitual and something of which they are not aware.

This reserve and absence of expressiveness also appears to characterize relations between children and parents. None of the subjects doubts his/her parents' feelings for them, but most state that their parents' affection is rarely expressed directly. Although some of the parents are physically demonstrative with their children, the proof of parental affection for these youths resides not so much in the physical or emotional contact as in tangible demonstrations via gifts and vacations: objects and services received from the parents.

A familiar configuration in the families is a dominant, articulate mother and relatively reserved, passive father. In such cases the mother seemed to determine the family's orientation toward the researcher by expressing more interest in the study than the spouse and by asking questions about her child's progress. Although the students frequently mention prohibitions generated by the father, these usually pertain to matters external to the home. The father seems a figurehead who exercises the responsibility of mediating between the family and the outside world; within the home the mother is probably the real power or authority. This observation accords with previous research with Irish-American families. However, it should be borne in mind that some of the families described in this study are ethnically mixed and that at least one of the "dominant" mothers referred to is of Italian descent.

All of the parents, without exception, are interested in their children's school and future prospects. Their ambitions for their sons and daughters are modest and realistic, and there is little pressure placed upon the students to distinguish themselves academically. Outside of school, parents are most likely to encourage their children's interest in sports, especially for boys. The students' conception of the future is generally vague. Their plans do not extend beyond high school, and the boys' ambitions almost invariably center upon sports. With one notable exception, the youngsters expressed little connection with the adult economic, political, and social world. Their parents regard these boys and girls as completely dependent upon the family; a few youngsters complain that they want more autonomy, but most seem to accept their parents' judgements.

The attitude of the youngsters toward their ethnic backgrounds is ambiguous. They are quick to identify themselves as Irish and to assert that this fact means something to them, but they are at a loss as to say how they acquired this awareness of their origins and insistent that being Irish has little or no effect upon their daily lives. They do not perceive differences between Irish-Americans and other ethnic groups, and considerations of ethnicity do not appear to enter into peer relations. Probably within each extended family there is a figure, usually a grandparent, whom the students link with Ireland and things Irish, but their interest in these matters is not easily engaged. Only a few of the parents have visited Ireland, and although interest in their background must have formed part of their motivation to participate in the study, they do not talk to their children about either the past or the present-day significance of being Irish-American. The students are inclined to regard ethnicity as largely irrelevant to their concerns.

The subjects' attitude toward religion, once closely identified with ethnicity in Irish-American communities, is largely one of mild indifference. As with politics, ethnicity and issues pertaining to the larger world, it does not engage their interest. They are aware that interest in many adult concerns can be rationally justified, but religion seems to them especially irrelevant to the practical world, and they view it as a piece with other obligations which they would rather avoid.

All of the families give the appearance of inhabiting an orderly home environment. Each sibling perceives clearly his/her place within the household, the chores he/she is expected to perform, and the prohibitions which applied to him/her. This order seems to be sustained by the children's awareness of constraints upon their behavior rather than by an approach to discipline and problems involving discussion and active participation by the young. The family also tends to present a united front to the outside world. When some of the students discerned a critical implication in questions pertaining to their relations with parents and siblings, they were quick to assert that these relations are invariably harmonious, even though their behavior frequently pointed to the opposite conclusion.

Finally, it should be born in mind that it is more than likely that the study attracted a particular type of family: namely, one in which the home was stable enough to accommodate the occasional intrusions of a stranger, in which the parents are moderately successful in the tasks of child-rearing, and the children largely free of serious problems of adjustment. The researchers do not claim that the families studied are representative of Irish-Americans thoughout the U.S. They have attempted, however, to describe certain aspects of family life in the Irish-American community of Rumfield and to record the impressions and perceptions of their home environments communicated to them by students in the seventh grade at Sharman Junior High. The researchers thank the families who participated for their cooperation and hospitality and hope that they will derive some benefit from the final phase of the study, when the quantitative results are presented to the staff at Sharman Junior High.

IV. ARMENIAN-AMERICAN

A. Introduction

1. Armenians: Historic Perspective

a. Armenians in the Middle East

Armenia is one of the oldest civilizations in the Middle East, but a culture little known to most Americans. For this reason, the present section of this report is somewhat longer than the first sections of the other reports.

Stone Age remnants found in Armenia are evidence that ancient tribes inhabited the area from time immemorial, beyond written records, in prehistoric epochs. Although modern Armenians speak an Indo-European language, they are the descendents of people who inhabited Eastern Anatolia and later founded one of the largest empires of the region, Arartu, second only to the Assyrian Empire. Their story is one of the richest as well as complicated ones in the region, "spiced with legend," and interlaced with the politics of the East and West. Conversion to Christianity from the pre-Christian tradition introduced a new set of values. Armenia has been shaped by diverse historical and ideological movements that have swept through the region.

The Armenian plateau is an elevated tableland surrounded on all sides by volcanic mountain ranges, deep valleys, and gorges. The country is drained by the Euphrates, Tigris, Djorokh, Halys, Kura, and Araxes rivers, and three major lakes: Van, Sevan, and Urmia. The fertile lands of the Ararat plain and the Van district supply the Armenian heartland with numerous kinds of natural goods. This rugged tableland cluster is also quite rich in precious and semi-precious metals and minerals. Its climate is extremely varied, with short summers when it is hot and arid in the lowlands and mild and pleasant in the highlands, and mountain winters that are extremely long and cold.

The history of the Armenians consists of two major periods, pre-Christian and Christian. Armenia first appeared in recorded history in Sumerian scriptures, in which Armenian northerners are referred to as "Suberians," and later in Assyrian inscriptions of the ninth century B.C., during the reigns of Kings Darius and Xerxes of Persia and in the lifetime of Herodotus, "the father of history." One part of the Armenian people was call "Hayasa;" this name became the name of the land, "Hayastan."

From the decline of Urartu to the conversion to Christianity in the fourth century A.D., powerful dynasties ruled and the nation became a "great power," especially in the years between 95 and 55 B.C. Like all great powers in classical history, the Armenian Empire gradually lost control over its vast territories, which ranged from the Caucasus Mountains to the border of Judea.

After losing her strength, Armenia was the scene of invasions, bloody contests, and occupations by Romans, Persians, and Byzantine Greeks, which respectively controlled the eastern and western provinces of Armenia until the fourth century A.D. Then an unprecedented event changed the history of Armenia and the fate of her people for centuries to come: Armenia became the first Christian nation in the world.

Christianity is said to have been introduced to Armenia by two of the apostles, Thaddeus and Bartholomew, and is described as the established religion of the state by St. Gregory the Illuminator in 301 A.D. In the year 406 A.D. a national alphabet was introduced by St. Mesrop Mashtotz. The alphabet caused Armenian literature to flourish and for the first time the Bible was translated into Armenian.

The combination of a state church and a national alphabet created a strong sense of distinctiveness, identity, national consciousness, and ethnocentrism. This bond lasted for centuries and proved of vital importance in preserving Armenian unity. It also alienated Armenia from Zoroastrian Persia, and triggered new tensions and conflicts with the Byzantine Empire to the east, which ended with the carving up of the country between the two larger states. For centuries the Armenian provinces were governed by appointed governors of both Persian and Greek origin. At the same time, numerous attempts were made by the Persians to assimilate their subjects by converting them into Zoroastrianism, which the Armenians resisted vigorously. Conversion efforts by the Persians proved fruitless until the emergence of Islam, which changed the history of Persia herself.

The ideologically and physically fresh armies of Islam, inspired by belief in the power of Allah (God), emerged from the heart of the Arabian Peninsula, and reached the southern frontiers of Armenia in 639 A.D. Arabs soon dominated Armenia, strongly influencing her culture, values, laws, and regulations, and also bringing destruction and devastation. These planted the seeds of the national revolts and uprisings which occurred in the middle of the ninth century.

For the next 500 years, from 885 to 1375, Armenia enjoyed intermittent periods of independence. Three major dynasties (Baratids, Rubenids, and the Franco-Armenia dynasty of Lusignans) ruled Armenia from the shore of the Mediterranean to the highlands of Van. The last of these dynaties played a great role in the Crusades. At the same time the dynasties experienced consecutive invasions by the Seljuk Turks, Mongols, Tatars, Turkomans, Egyptian Mamluks, and Ottoman (Osmanli) Turks, who spread horror and destruction. Thousands of people were slain, cities were plundered and centers of art and culture were destroyed. These conquests brought Armenia to the brink culturally, economically, and politically; the entire civilization was nearly destroyed as the population of Armenia was reduced by over ninety percent.

The fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 changed the direction of history in the Middle East, including Armenia. On the ruins of Armenia emerged an empire which dominated the whole Fertile Crescent and even the Balkans in Europe. Armenians, along with numerous other cultures and peoples, became part of a predominantly Moslem, pluralistic, and multi-racial society. At the same time, Armenians were subject to centuries of domination, oppression and exploitation.

Europe in the late eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed the mass movements and uprisings of many oppressed groups. These events affected the already old Ottoman Empire which was headed towards decline. Internally, the Empire contended with national uprisings, and externally it was endanged by the growing power of Persia and Czarist Russia. The Balkan States struggled successfully towards their independence, but Armenia's fate was different, partly as a result of her strategic and geopolitical position. The outcome was finalized in the tragic events of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

This time Armenia was partitioned among the three main powers of the region: Persia, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire. The Armenians' appeal to the Western powers for the liberation of their provinces did not produce any positive results. They were unsuccessful in their demands for reforms and basic rights in their own homeland. The emergence of an Armenian petite bourgeosie and intelligentsia exacerbated the situation. Inspired by the success of the Balkan peoples in their bids for independence, the Church and intelligentsia joined to produce a solid front with the petite bourgeosie and peasantry in demanding an independent or autonomous Armenia.

The Ottoman Empire, "The Sick Man of Europe," was already on its death bed. Secret societies, political parties, and terroristic revolutionary groups sprang up, both in Turkish and Russian Armenia. In the major cities of the Empire protests, riots and demonstrations exploded and were repressed with brutality by the police force in the first of a series of massacres. The slaughter of Armenians in Constantinople in 1876-77 was followed by similar episodes in 1894, 1895, and 1896, costing the Armenian nation some 500,000 souls.

The most tragic period of Armenian history had started. After the Revolution of the Young Turks in 1908, the situation of Christian minorities, especially Armenians, not only failed to improve but worsened. Turkish-Armenian reconciliation turned out to be a false hope. In 1909 new massacres occurred, this time in Cilicia. The Young Turk government, pursuing Pan-Turanistic goals of a homogeneous and Turkified empire free of Gentiles (Christians), took the opportunity of the First World War to achieve these ends. Physical annihilation would solve, the"Armenian Question" once and forever. More than 2.5 million Armenians were brutally massacred in the presence of missionaries, military advisors, and politicians from various wetern nations. Almost another million were forcefully deported from their homeland. Properties were damaged, plundered, and looted. A whole nation was buried alive.

Three years after the horrible events of the first holocaust of the twentieth century, a tiny republic arose from the ruins and ashes in Eastern Armenia, after the dissolution of the Trans-Caucasian Federation. On May 28, 1918, Armenia declared itself an independent republic and was recognized in 1920 by the Allied nations plus Turkey, in the Treaty of Sevre. A year later, subsequent to a secret agreement between Turkey and the new Soviet government, two major provinces of the Republic were occupied by Turkey. Months later the remainder of the Armenian Republic was annexed to the Soviet Union, becoming the fifteenth Republic of the Soviet conglomerate.

Today Soviet Armenia exists, lives, and flourishes as the first and last home base of the Armenian people, occupying only one tenth of her historical territories. It is geographically the smallest, most homogeneous, and densely populated republic among the fifteen constituting the U.S.S.R. One-third of existing Armenians live in the Soviet Armenian Republic; almost two-thirds are dispersed throughout the world; only a handful remain in Turkey. Armenians struggle with estrangement, widespread dispersion from the Middle East to North Africa and North and South America, cultural displacement, and linguistic alienation: all in all, the deepest challenge yet to their religious and national continuity.

b. Migration in the History of the Armenians

Because of her geographical position, Armenia always has been a link between the east and west. Her boundaries have been very elastic due to many historical factors. Her culture and traditions, as well as her people, have been constantly exposed to or engulfed by great empires. Her people have acquired obligatory experience in establishing communities of compatriots in other countries. They early sent representatives and delegates and became members of courts, military leasers, nobles, and even emperors and empresses in nations such as Byzantium, Persia, and Georgia.

The emigration of Armenians from their homeland on a mass scale first took place during the upheavals of the eleventh century, especially after 1064. The causes of Armenian expatriation were and are mainly political, but also include religious persecution, racial harrassment, the establishment of successful Armenian communities in distant lands, the development of commercial centers, and finally the fear of assimilation and annihilation. After the fall of the last Armenian kingdom in Cilicia in 1375, hundreds of thousands took refuge in "unknown" territories: around the Mediterranean, in the Balkans, and in the Crimea, Russia, and Poland.

The third large wave of Armenian exodus came as a result of the Turco-Persian War which ended with the domination by Persia of the eastern provinces of Armenia, and at the same time the defeat of the Persians in the western provinces. During the Persian retreat Shah Abbas the Great, ordered the complete destruction of the eastern provinces and the forced deportation of their people. As a result, many Armenians evacuated to the north, settling on the banks of the Volga River; later they joined earlier Armenian emigrants in Moldavia, Bukovina, and Poland. But the majority of Armenians from the eastern provinces were forced into a difficult journey in 1605 and settled in the suburbs of the Persian capital, Isphahan. They called the city New Julfa and it became the point of origin of the Iranian-Armenian communities which later developed and spread throughout Iran. From Persia, Armenians moved towards the East where they established colonies in India, Java, Singapore, and more recently Australia and New Zealand.

The Armenian massacres by the Turks in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries is one of the catastropic tragedies of modern history. The massacres resulted in the dispersion of people by forced marches into the Mesopotamian desert and the destruction of most of a nation physically, culturally, economically, and socially, as well as psychologically. Today most of the Armenian communities in the

Middle East--i.e., in Lebanon, Iraq, Syria, Jordan, and Egypt--are the products of these disastrous events.

Armenian diaspora is a reality today. Only one-third of the Armenian people live in the Soviet Republic of Armenia. Decades after their deportation and resettlement in new lands, Armenians continue to move from country to country, from previously settled regions to new territories and continents. Terrorized by fresh memories of genocide and the lessons of their ill-fated history, Armenians flee their adopted homelands to seek more hospitable environments, whenever they sense rising political and economic turmoil that might end in ethno-religious crisis and military conflicts.

2. Armenians in the United States

The first Armenians to arrive on American soil appeared not at the beginning of this century, but in the 1600's. According to documents of the Virginia Company of London, a man called "Martin the Armenian," or "Martin Ye Armenia," originally from Persia, came to Jamestown, Virginia, in 1618-1619 (Federal Writers Project, 1937:25). The records also speak of two Armenians who came to Virginia as servants of Edward Diggs, a noted leader, in 1653. However, during the next two centuries no significant mass migration of Armenians to the United States was recorded.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the activities of American missionaries in Asia Minor and the Near East opened new possibilities for the Armenians, as well as other Christian minorities in the region who sought a better life and higher education in the New World. Statistical records show that about fifty Armenian immigrants arrived in the U.S. between the years 1851 and 1870 (Wertzman, 1928:2). Between 1870 and 1875 dozens of Armenians arrived in the U.S. from

305

Turkey, most of them settling in New York City (Wertzman, 1978:3). According to one estimate, as late as 1870 there were only 69 Armenians in the U.S. (Federal Writers Project, 1937:26).

Disturbances in the Turks' Asian provinces, which reflected the struggles of several national minorities for emancipation and resulted in the horrible events of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that are discussed above, caused a huge influx of the Armenians to the U.S. Migrations after 1875 occurred in distinct waves. The years 1876-1877 marked the beginning of persecution of Armenians in Turkey and stimulated the first major inpouring of Armenians. The second wave occurred in 1894-1896, following the "Hamidian Massacres", planned slaughters that took the lives of about 250,000 Armenians (Wertzman, 1978:4). Others fled the homeland to join their "co-nationals" in the U.S. and other countries. As the result of these occurrences, at the beginning of this century 70,982 Armenians lived in the U.S., mainly in Massachusetts, New York , Rhode Island, and California.

During the decades prior to 1900 the Armenian-American community started to take shape. Parishes were established and newspapers, both political organs and neutral chronicles of various aspects of community life, were published. Student associations and ethnically-based societies serving a variety of purposes flourished, with the primary goal of assisting the immigrants to become permanent members of American Society.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century were written some of the "blackest pages of history." In 1909 the Turkish massacres of Armenians resumed, this time in Cilicia, taking the lives of more than 30,000 people. During the War years of 1914-1918 an estimated 1,500,000 Armenians lost their lives, thousands more were proselytized to Islam by force, and about 1,000,000 were deported or expelled from their homeland or chose to flee from their native soil. These traumatic events actually caused a decrease in the number of Armenian immigrants who reached the United States, which was vigorously reversed during the next decade.

An estimated 30,000 Armenians came to the U.S. between the years 1920 and 1931, most of whom settled in previously established Armenian communities in Massachusetts, New York City, Detroit, Chicago, and California (Wertzman, 1978:9). The disappearance of the independent Armenian state, at the same time as the establishment of the Kemalist regime in Turkey, forced Armenians to leave Armenia, seek refuge in Neighboring Middle Eastern countries and (in lesser numbers) take refuge in the already established communities in the U.S.

Armenian immigrants came to the U.S. after 1924 under "turkish" quotas. As a result, the annual inflow of Armenians was reduced to the legal maximum of 100 or less (Minasian, 1972:107). Some Armenian refugees, including orphans, managed to settle in the U.S. with the assistance of Fridtjof Nansen, High Commissioner for Refugees of the League of Nations, using what became known as "Nansen Passports" (Minasian, 1975:108).

Armenian immigration increased significantly after World War II. Thousands used various provisions in U.S. immigration laws, designed to aid displaced persons and anti-communists, to leave their adopted homelands in Eastern Europe and the Middle East to seek their futures in the U.S. After 1965, when the quota system was abolished, sharp new waves appeared from the Middle East, especially Lebanon, stimulated by the Arab-Israeli conflict.

At the present time an estimated 550,000 Armenians live in the U.S., concentrated mostly in the New England states, New York, New Jersey, Washington(D.C.), Chicago, Texas, California, and Oregon, as well as other scattered areas.

B. Community Studied

The first Armenians in the Boston area came to Cambridge in 1891, where they found employment at the Simplex Wire and Cable Works. Another substantial group, many of them small tradesmen, settled in Boston's South End. The 1900 Boston Directory listed 185 male Armenians in trades and business (Mirak, 1975).

The census for 1930 lists 15,000 Armenians settled in Metropolitan Boston (Federal Writer's Project, 1937:34). They resided in numerous towns; those containing more than 100 include Boston, Watertown, Cambridge, Belmont, and many others. At this time Worcester was the largest Armenian community in the United States (Phillips, 1978:105). Some of these people worked in factories and some in their own businesses. According to the 1930 census, Worcester had 4,500 Armenian residents to which Rivertown (pseudonym for the community studied in this research) was second with 3,500.

Today, Rivertown constitutes one of the largest Armenian communities in Massachusetts. There exist various estimates regarding its size. One given by a religious and community leader puts the number in Rivertown and Wimberly (the adjoining town) together at 12,000 to 15,000 individuals (Thomas, 1978).

Unlike the early days of their migration, the Armenians of Rivertown today constitute a relatively organized community. There exist two Apostolic Churches and one Protestant Armenian Church, both located in East Rivertown. Each of the three parishes operate its own school (Saturday and Sunday). All emphasize religious teachings; in addition, two of the schools familiarize the children with cultural values and heritage of their ancestors, e.g., literature, history, music, etc.

Two major Armenian political parties (the Armenian Democratic League and Armenian Revolutionary Federation) have club houses in the East Rivertown neighborhood, within which they concentrate most of their activities. Besides these there are several cultural organizations and relief societies such as AGBU (Armenian General Benevolent Union), the Lekcian Society, and AYOA (Armenian Youth Organization American) affiliated with the ADL; and AYF (Armenian Youth Federation), ARS (Armenian Relief Society), the Hamaskagin Cultural Organization, and Homeutmen (Armenian General Athletic Union), affiliated with the ARC. The polarization reflected in these organizations is readily visible throughout the Armenian community of Rivertown. The community also has two cultural centers, the St. John's Cultural Center and the Armenian Cultural and Educational Center (ACEC).

The community is served by two daily and two weekly newspapers, one of each published by the two above-mentioned political parties. These keep the community informed of local issues and news concerning Armenian affairs within the region, the United States, and throughout the world. In addition to these periodicals, a one hour weekly radio program summarizes local and national events concerning the Armenian communities in diaspora, and Armenian history and culture.

Due to the sudden flow of Armenian immigrants from the war-stricken countries of the Middle East in recent years, the life of the Armenian community of Rivertown has changed. The immigration brought both problems and benefits. On the one hand, the immigrants come from more organized and solid Armenian communities and reinforce existing values and injecting a series of new qualities into the social life of the community. For example, cultural activities have both diversified and intensified. However, the increased Armenian population and the needs of the newcomers for assistance in adjusting to social and economic life place new demands on the community. The Rivertown public schools in the recent years have added courses on Armenian history and culture. The Morton School located in East Rivertown, has a bilingual program for the children of Armenian immigrants to prepare them for the high school curriculum ahead.

Perhaps East Rivertown should be considered the "capital" of Armenians in the New England area. As one walks down the main street,headed towards the town center, one sees shops with unfamiliar scripts and people with the Middle Eastern physionomic features. The scripts are Armenian and most of the people are Armenian and Greek. The shops carry typical Middle Eastern produce. homemade foods and numerous kinds of spices and greens. The languages used in most of these shops by the owners are Armenian (different dialects), Turkish, and Greek. Typical Armenian church architecture can be seen in the religious buildings of the neighborhood, strongly contrasting with the styles of the many other parishes and denominations in Rivertown. Signs of lawyers, doctors, and funeral homes carry Armenian names, identifiable by their "-ian" endings, show the remarkable presence and influence of individuals of Armenian descent in the local community.

C. Methodology

1. Sample Selection

During staff meetings, we discussed sources from which we could recruit subjects, ideally eight boys and eight girls. Five were identified:

1. Bilingual Program, at the Morton School
2. Cosgrove Junior High School
3. Sunday School at St. John's Armenian Apostolic Church
4. Saturday School at St. David's Armenian Apostolic Church
5. Armenian Memorial Church (Protestant)
6. Sunday School at the Armenian Evangelical Church in Wimberly

1. Morton Bilingual Program

The fieldworkers and senior staff of the project met with the teachers and directors of the Program in January, 1980. Study objectives and procedures were explained, which led to a series of questions, arguments, and answers. Despite very clear support from the Program's Director and from the Superintendent's Office, the teachers expressed skepticism and reservations about the project. We did not press them for a list of children and had no further contact with this group for the remainder of the project.

2. Cosgrove Junior High School

In February we met with the Principal, who expressed interest in and support for the project. Within a week, he provided us with a list of 27 seventh graders whom he believed to be of Armenian extraction.

3. St. John's Sunday School

During February we met with the Pastor and explained the project and its objectives. After an hour of discussion, he suggested that we contact the Director of the Sunday School, also promising his support and assistance. We met the Director and explained the project to her; she then permitted us to visit the school. The curriculum here focuses mostly with religious matters, with classes conducted in English. We were permitted to talk to the children directly and to distribute summary sheets concerning the project. We returned the following week to see if any students were willing to participate in the project.

4. St. David's Saturday School

Our next meeting was with the Pastor of this church. He, too, encouraged us to get in touch with the Director and explain the objectives to her as we had to him. The Director suggested that we come to the school and obtain a list of seventh graders from the teacher responsible for that age group. We did so and acquired the names of twelve students to contact. We observed that instruction at this school is mostly in Armenian and includes both religious and cultural subjects.

5. Armenian Memorial Church

We met briefly with the Pastor of the church. He decided that he could not help us and strongly recommended that we contact the Morton Bilingual Program, which we had already done.

6. First Armenian Church

We met the Pastor, and explained the project; we were quickly introduced to the Sunday School Director. We visited the school, and participated in their church service, and made contacts with parents and two seventh graders. Only a minority of the members of this church reside in East Rivertown, the community from which we wished to enroll subjects for the study.

Techniques used to enlist potential individual participants in the research were 1) telephone calls to children on the lists, and 2) group meetings with children at certain of the recruiting sites. The first technique led to the scheduling of face-to-face appointments with some of the families and children, some of which proved to be fruitful. We think that initial face-to-face contacts would have been more productive; requests made by phone are relatively easy to reject.

The atmosphere of the group meetings seemed to prevent individual children from expressing decisions to participate in the project. Personal factors, such as shame and lack of self-confidence, and group factors, such as the values of the peer culture, perhaps blocked or delayed their decision-making. We think that if we had arranged meetings with individual children, the recruiting results would have been more positive. In addition, if pastors, teachers, or principals had been able to introduce us to the families, we would have gained their confidence more quickly and thus been accepted by them more readily.

We accumulated a total of 56 names (31 girls and 25 boys) from the Junior High, St. John's, and St. David's. We telephoned each of these, encountering a few changed numbers and some who did not answer despite repeated efforts. Others were eliminated because they 1) were not seventh or eighth-graders; 2) did not attend Cosgrove Junior High school; 3) did not live in Rivertown; 4) were not of Armenian descent, although attending an Armenian church school.

Of the remainder, we differentiate six types of responses. 1) In some cases a parent or guardian answered the telephone, and asked for time to consult his/her spouse or other relative. 2) Some advised us to contact their spouse or other decision-maker directly. 3) Others told us to talk to the child himself or herself: the child's decision would be accepted by the parents. With such tacit approval by parent(s), we approached the child directly and enrolled him/her if he/she was agreeable. 4) In rare cases, a parent agreed on behalf of the child and then pressured the youngster to participate in the project. Since a favorable attitude to the project by the subject was a high priority for us, we did not welcome this response. We managed to get in direct touch with these boys and girls and ask them for their own decisions. If negative or dubious, they were eliminated from the project. 5) Finally, the most common response was a direct negative, the arguments for which we discuss below.

After a year of fieldwork, we sense that there were and are controversies and disagreements in the community which affected families' responses to the project both positively and negatively. Our first problem, as mentioned earlier,arose at our meeting with the Bilingual Program staff. The teachers argued that the parents would not be receptive towards the project. They predicted that there would be communication problems between the children and us, since most of the students spoke Western Armenian, while our natal language is Eastern Armenian. We suspect that the existence of the two major political parties (ADL and ARF; see Section II) in the community played a role in the teachers' hesitation.

We also suspect that the teachers had established favorable relationships with some of the parents of the immigrant children and feared that our involvement with the families could weaken their position. During the study we found that relatively recent immigrant Armenian families were more receptive to the research than second and third generation homes. The most attractive feature of the research to these families was that it concerned the Armenian community and might benefit their children: we got the impression that for second and third generation families, these "pay-offs" did not seem so impressive. Our Armenian origin and the fact that we spoke both Eastern and Western Armenian were additional factors that played positive roles in our being accepted by some of the families, especially the immigrant ones.

Several other factors probably influenced the second and third generation youth to decline to participate in, or withdraw from, the project. First, many were heavily involved in outside activities, such as athletics and private lessons in different subjects (dance, language, etc.). The project appeared to them to be an additional obligation in an already busy schedule. Second, some children were basically uninterested in the project; others were either suspicious of us or of the objectives of the research. Some children also wanted to know the reaction of their friends and/or of their parents before committing themselves. Probably also the "personality" of each child played a role in his/her reaction to our invitation.

We emphasize again that most of the cultural and religious institutions we contacted willingly cooperated and assisted in selecting children and in making contacts with the families. We are very grateful for their support.

2. Characteristics of the Families

In this section we present a general picture of the families studied in this project. A total of ten children (four boys and six girls) were observed in the field. All have been residents of Rivertown for periods ranging from two to ten years, having come with their parents from various Middle Eastern countries (five from Lebanon, two from Soviet Armenia, and one each from Iran, Syria, and Turkey). Each family maintains relationships with relatives and friends in their native lands. Despite contrasting geographic origins, all share major social, cultural, and religious characteristics. In each family both parents are of Armenian origin, and frequent contact occurs with relatives and friends in the neighborhood on religious holidays, during traditional ethnic festivities, and through ongoing social and cultural activities.

Seven of the households are nuclear (father, mother, and their children) in composition, although most members consider themselves to be parts of functioning extended families physically separated by immigration. One household is extended (three generations) in composition, and two are single-parent (mother-headed), but embedded in a larger network of kin. The number of residents in the households ranges from three to eight persons, with a mean of four to five individuals. The ratio of sexes in the entire sample, including parents, is 22 males to 25 females. The average age of the parents is forty to fifty; the ages of children living at home range from six to twenty-five.

The families occupy fairly decent dwellings, although not every subject has a room to himself/herself. Most families appear to be members of the skilled working or lower middle classes. The fathers typically hold responsible craft positions (electricians, mechanics, etc.); most mothers work at less skilled positions outside the home.

A thumb-nail sketch of each of the families follows:

Family A

This family emigrated from Soviet Armenia very recently. It is a group of four (father, mother, a boy, and a girl). They live in a two-family house, which is kept very neat and orderly, and is decorated with objects and souvenirs from Armenia. The father has a full-time job in a factory; the mother holds a part-time job, too. The mother stated that this is the first time in her life that she has had to work outside the home, about which she is not happy. She is concerned with the family's financial status; she does not see how they can afford to send their son to college, and also pay for their daughter's extracurricular activities, such as piano lessons. She complains that if they had stayed in Soviet Armenia they wouldn't have to worry about such matters. It seems that roles and responsibilities are divided by age and sex in this family. The mother is the housekeeper and the father the provider. Family members pay special attention to the education and well-being of the youngest family member, the girl who was involved in the project. Both parents are in their late forties and the brother is eighteen years old.

Family B

This family emigrated from Iran thirteen or fourteen years ago. They own a two-family house, the first floor of which is occupied by the eldest son and his family. The subject family--the only extended household in the sample--is composed of father, mother, a girl (the participant), another married son with his wife and two grandmothers.

Both parents are in their fifties, their son and his wife in their early twenties. Both parents are full-time factory workers. Household chores are mostly carried out by the mother and the grandmothers. This family has numerous social contacts. Father and mother actively participate in Armenian community organizations and have a large number of friends and relatives with whom they enjoy very close relationships. Although the family has preserved its ethnic traditions to a large extent, it appears to be having few problems coping with the American lifestyle.

Family C

This family emigrated from Lebanon thirteen or fourteen years ago. The father is not living in the household; the daughter (participant in the study) indicated that her parents are divorced or separated. The daughter lives with her mother and her sixteen year-old brother. The mother is in her forties, holds two different jobs, but the precise kind of work was not ascertained. The fieldworker's meetings with the girl took place outside the home, so she was not able to observe the everyday life of this family. The girl reported that they have many relatives who visit a couple of times each year.

Family D

This family is composed of a girl (the participant) and her grandparents. An aunt and her family live in a very nearby house and another uncle resides in the neighborhood also. The girl's father was never mentioned; his whereabouts and condition remained unknown to the researchers. The mother holds a job in Washington, D.C., and visits several times a year. In this household, everybody seems to have clear duties and household chores appear to be cooperatively discharged. The language most frequently spoken was Turkish. The aunt, her husband, and the uncle are all in their late thirties.

Family E

This is a nuclear family--parents, a girl (the participant), and her little brother and sister. The mother does not have an outside job and the father is a skilled laborer. Authority, here, is reserved to the father. This family participates in various programs available for the Armenian community, but does not take on leadership positions in any other organizations. The family has a number of friends and relatives who visit and invite them to their houses, constituting most of the recreational activity of the family. Both parents are in their early forties and the siblings are ages six and eight years.

Family F

Contact with the participating girl and her family was very limited, the fieldworker visiting the house only once. It is a nuclear family, composed of parents and three children. The mother did not have an outside job. This family appeared to be relatively well-to-do compared to the others participating in the project.

Family G

This family is composed of two parents and three children. The father is a professional and the mother, a housewife, who also takes orders for making clothes at home. The subject, a boy, has two sisters, ages fifteen and eight. The family has recently migrated from war-stricken Lebanon. They live in a privately owned apartment and have several friends and relatives in Rivertown with whom they have frequent contacts.

Family H

The parents of this family coincidentally are first cousins with the parents of family G. They are originally from Jordan, settled in Lebanon and recently (three to four years) migrated to the United States. There are three children in the family; two boys and one girl. The subject in our project is the youngest. Both parents work in companies, although they have recently decided to start their privately owned business .

Family I

Compared to families G and H, the family is relatively large, composed of nine people. The parents are in their mid-fifties (parents of families G and H were in their forties). There are four boys and three girls with ages ranging from fourteen to thirty-two. Four of the sisters and brothers are already married and have left home. The subject of our research is the youngest and was three years old when his folks decided to leave Aleppo-Syria and come to the United States. His mother is a housewife and his father a mechanic. He attends jugior high school like the other subjects and also works during his free hours.

Family J

There are five people in this family; two parents, two children (one boy and one girl) and one grandfather (father's side). The parents are in their early forties and both work in a factory. Our subject is thirteen and has a sister who is twelve; both attend junior high school. It is not more than a year that they have emigrated from Soviet Armenia. They are still lingually handicapped and are not accustomed to their new environment. They live in a rented apartment in fair condition.

D. Relationships

The families observed are in general cohesive, both socially and emotionally. As units the families functioned smoothly, including the single parent homes. According to the children, the family often serves them as a place of comfort when they need emotional support. The home atmosphere provides a "warm" and "caring" climate where the children can discuss their problems in troubled times. Family members enjoy a certain degree of closeness, which in turn prevents the emergence of serious disagreements and clashes.

Not all the families provide the same communication opportunities for their children. In some the children feel very free to approach other family members to talk about their own problems and to participate in discussions of family issues. In others, according to the subjects, there exists a lack of mutual understanding.

We think the extent of involvement in different activities, which serves to strengthen the cohesiveness of the family, is remarkable among the observed families. Although the children express dissatisfaction with some of the activities they share with their families, they also admit that most of their daily life takes place with family members. All of the children have regular chores to perform and help their parents with larger non-recurring household projects. Parents, in turn, involve themselves in their children's affairs, by helping with homework, attending cultural activities in which the children have parts, being available for discussions, etc..

Specific norms and values exist within most of the families. Among them, respect for and obedience to parents and older people are prominent. However, the overall atmosphere in the homes is supportive of the children. They are allowed to express their ideas and discuss their problems. Parents are responsive and interested in fulfilling their children's needs as best they can. Our field observations suggest that among the single parent and extended families, pressures on adults and children create a somewhat different pattern of relationships. The children in these families express dissatisfaction with their lives much more frequently than the others. The just described pattern of norms and values may not prevail so completely in these households.

None of the children feels unfairly treated,compared to same sex and similar age siblings and friends. However, differences in age and sex create instances of perceived discrimination. For example, several girls told us that they are closer to their mothers emotionally, that they do more housework than boys, and that they have less freedom in outside activities than boys.

With the exception of one student, all the participants in the study have siblings, both older and younger. The age differences between the subjects and the other children in their families vary from one to fifteen years. Cases of serious conflict and tension among siblings are rare. In most homes, as expressed by the subjects, there is a degree, at least, of mutual exchange of emotions and cooperation among the siblings. For example, some children receive help from elder sisters or brothers in their homework, and in turn they assist their younger brothers and sisters.

In a few cases, conflicts among the siblings arise out of differences of sex and age and the corresponding treatment received by each from the parents. In general, we identified healthy relations among the siblings: they communicate with each other and exchange ideas.

We observed or heard about a few incidents during which siblings of the opposite sex teased each other and made fun of each other's behavior, events fairly common in similarly composed families everywhere.

In regard to relationships with peers our subjects mentioned that Armenian children in the Junior High interact frequently with each other, especially with those in the same age group. These occurrences take place most often during lunch hour, since the breaks between classes give only enough time to assemble books, etc. for the next class and to walk from one side of the building to the other. The subjects' friends are not limited to Armenian children, however. They have "American" friends from diverse ethnic backgrounds such as Greek, Irish, Italian, and Spanish.

They report that several identifiable groups or cliques exist within the student body, that sometimes evince very hostile attitudes towards each other. However, the children say that it is not vital to be a member of such a group in order to be accepted by classmates. They complain about the "immature" behavior of some students; for example, some "call each other names," which they do not like and which sometimes makes them nervous.

Coming from different cultural backgrounds, our subjects differ from their peers in many respects (such as their reserved demeanor, in the case of newcomers), language, and dress. Being accustomed to using the mother tongue in their homes, most of them naturally speak Armenian when they encounter Armenian friends. Some mention that they use Armenian only in rare cases, such as telling each other "secret things". These children seem aware that the use of a foreign language creates a paranoid situation for those who do not comprehend it, and partially avoid provoking such feelings.

Participants did not report any active discrimination within the school environment by their teachers. Despite this positive picture of the teachers' approach to the students, they feel not fully accepted and socially assimilated by their classmates. One participant told us that a common term for Armenian children used by others is "Armo". Others describe how they are made fun of because of differences in their clothing. This, of course, is not true for subjects who have been in this country for a longer period. These youngster make reference to a common style of dress among the student body which they try to follow, too, since dressing extravagantly is as unacceptable as dressing very poorly.

We believe that the preceding items are evidence of an ongoing process of assimilation. Among our subjects we see how differences in clothing styles, accent in spoken English, and perhaps other behavior are more pronounced among those who are recent immigrants. The longer the period of residency in the U.S., the better a child's accent gets, the more similar his/her clothing is to that of peers, and ultimately the more complete the process of assimilation becomes.

All the subjects belong to the Apostolic Gregorian faith, which is a branch of Orthodox Christianity, as explained earlier. They attend one of the three Apostolic parishes in Rivertown (including one outside of the neighborhood). From our interviews we gathered that the youngsters' families do not observe religious practices intensively, although the children either alone or with other family members attend regular church services as well as major ceremonies on specific occasions such as Epiphany, Christmas, and Easter.

The children are aware and conscious of their ethnic background and religion. Among the subjects, the two from Soviet Armenia are obviously best informed on these matters. The rest of the children share this awareness to a lesser extent. None deny their Armenian ancestry and background. On the other hand, some girls mentioned that a number of Armenian girls at school do not always reveal their ethnic identity; for example, when they talk to boys. Ethnic consciousness is encouraged for the children through their participation in Armenian community activities such as cultural events, sports activities organized by the Armenian athletic societies, and church-sponsored Saturday and Sunday schools.

Ethnic background does not seem to be an issue among the families and the children; it seems to be taken for granted. The youngsters are aware of their ethnic and religious origins, participate with their families in church services and ethnic celebrations, and are in close contact with the Armenian community in general.

From our interviews we gathered that our subjects are able to adjust themselves to school and community life. According to them, the school community is a generally supportive one, and they participate in different extra-curricula activities and programs. They did not express any complaints about their teachers' attitudes toward and treatment of them, as members of a specific ethnic group.

E. Organization

The children and their families are clearly structured: each member is aware of his/her position, responsibilities, and privileges within the family unit. However, policies and decisions are basically made by the parents, especially the father. The latter holds a position of primary authority, and makes most of the major decisions in consultation with his wife, without involving the children. This is the pattern described by most of the children, at any rate.

Both father and mother are present in eight of the ten families. The father in most cases is regarded as the head of the family, the possessor of ultimate authority. The children regard their parents, in general, as excessively "traditional", although they respect them as their sources of protection. We experienced the parents as hospitable to us. They seemed to accept us without reservation. Their most important concern, as they expressed it, is the well-being and the future of their children;they especially emphasize the education of their children. During our visits we did not notice any physical or harsh verbal assaults by the parents on their children. Later the children themselves mentioned that they do not experience any kind of physical punishment from their parents.

The children describe their parents as traditional and strict, in terms of permitted and prescribed activities for the children. For example, the girls complain that their parents prohibit them from having "dates" with boys and staying out late. They constantly compare their lifestyle with that of their peers and classmates at school. The boys, in general, do not express dissatisfaction with the rules imposed by their parents. Most of them, at age twelve and thirteen, are mainly concerned and involved with sports and games, rather than developing emotional relationships with the opposite sex. (It should be mentioned that there are a few girls in the sample who also belong in this category, who do not seem to be as mature as the majority of their peers.)

The children studied are not satisfied with the way problems are handled in the family circle. They complain about the absence of discussions among family members concerning family matters, and inappropriate solutions attempted by their parents. They feel they have suggestions and perspectives to offer that are too seldom considered by their parents.

A clearcut division of chores and responsibilities among the children is characteristic of most of the households. For example, girls are expected to do housework such as washing dishes, making beds, etc., and boys are expected to maintain appliances, mow the lawn, etc. Most of the families are well-informed about ongoing cultural activities in the ethnic community. They attend church and social and athletic events together.

F. Personal Development

Each individual as a part of his/her growth develops a characteristic personality which is unique to that person. In this section we attempt to present some of the characteristics shared by our Armenian-American seventh-graders. We dealt very inadequately with qualities that differentiate each of the ten and his/her family from the others. By such an emphasis we do not mean to suggest greater uniformity of personality within this ethnic group than among other nationalities. Variation among our subjects is simply an untreated topic in this report, in which shared ethnic characteristics are the primary concern.

With the exception of one child, all attended Cosgrove Junior High School. All were seventh graders except one boy in sixth grade. The subjects expressed mixed feelings about their school environment, their friends (classmates), and teachers. Some like the school curriculum, which does not put much pressure on them; others prefer extracurricular activities such as the school band and team sports. Some dislike the school's disciplinary practices, which mandate the completion of unfinished homework assignments after school hours in the library.

We found the Junior High a fairly large, well equipped, and well organized educational institution. It has adequate athletic activities, including a vast field between the building and a major street. The main building, probably 100 years old, is connected to a new wing. The latter includes a large hall used for extracurricular activities (plays, shows, films) and formal, ceremonial meetings. Next to the Junior High is the Morton School which houses the Armenian bilingual program.

Comparing their current school with their educational experiences in their home country, the recently immigrated children find the American curriculum light and easy to handle. One who has been in the U.S. for only three months and formerly attended the bilingual program, claims to encounter no difficulty in handling the curriculum. On the other hand, students who have been in this country from first grade do not share this assessment and even complain of the difficulty of the schoolwork.

All students without exception take courses in American history and English. Besides these, the boys mostly choose sports (they find the facilities attractive, compared to the ones they had in their home countries), handicrafts (carpentry, electricity, etc.), art and literature. Some also take a second language (Armenian, French). The girls enroll in courses like cooking and home economics as well as sports and arts.

In general, the students' feelings toward the school are negative. They find the classrooms dirty and disorganized. For example, they describe how fellow students dispose of scratch paper on the floor and damage benches and desks by carving or drawing pictures. They add that respect for the teachers is missing, and are surprised and in some cases shocked by the expressed disrespect from students toward their teachers. They give examples of students challenging teachers, answering back to instructions, and disobeying orders. These happenings do not present themselves as problems to the longer-immigrated children. We heard no complaints concerning disrespect or misbehavior from this group.

As persons born and raised in a Middle Eastern country the fieldworkers can understand the feelings of the children. In their home countries, teachers occupy positions of authority in the classrooms. Unidirectional respect and obedience is the established norm both in elementary and high schools, violation of which can lead the child into serious difficulties. In American society the above mentioned norms are not supported and encouraged. Students enjoy more personal freedom in their classes to express their ideas and behave in ways they prefer. Teachers in turn try to establish more informal relationships with their students. For example, they encourage students to call them by their first or sometimes nickname, such as Bob, Bill, and Peggy. It should not be surprising that these customs create classroom conditions perceived as anarchy by students who are used to a structured and formal classroom environment.

The subjects' attitudes toward their teachers are not very positive, either. Most of the teachers are middle-aged and have their own families, although there is also a smaller group from a younger age bracket. The students describe their teachers as sometimes impolite. They claim they unfairly grade students' academic work. Some teachers seem nervous and are often in a bad mood during class activities. Some of these perceptions are related to the age and sex of the teachers and to the subjects they teach. For example, physical education instructors are among the popular ones. Some students assert that their favorite courses are ruined by teachers who seem uninterested or who behave inappropriately (e.g., ill-timed yelling), during class time.

The absence of corporal punishment is another issue among the students. Despite all their negative feelings about school, recent immigrants are both surprised and pleased by this circumstance. In their home countries they experienced, according to them, severe and sometimes pathologically dangerous punishments by teachers, whose behavior in this respect was unregulated by the government, parents, and school principals, except in severe cases. In most of these societies the belief prevails that punishment (mostly physical) is a positive way of correcting a child's disorderly behavior, of shaping his/her character and personality, and of injecting discipline and structure into the individual's life, all of which leads to successful educational performance and a secure future.

In terms of the students' participation in decision-making and involvement in school affairs, we did not encounter any strong feelings. The school does not have a uniform and these students, having experienced the opposite overseas, enjoy dressing as they wish. There are no restrictions on the use of cosmetics, so the girls may indulge according to personal preference. Some express dislike of the way other girls "make themselves up" within the school. The subjects appear apathetic toward the school's rules and regulations. They express neither concern about nor approval of them.

Parents, in general, are interested and concerned about their children's performance at school. They attend parents' meetings and follow the school's instructions for helping their children. They are critical of the school system in the sense that they consider the curriculum insufficiently challenging and disciplinary measures almost nonexistent, which they believe have negative effects on the children's academic performance. These opinions are based on their comparisons of the local school system with the schools that they and their children formerly attended in their home countries.

Among the values shared by both sexes is an orientation toward achievement. All the children picture a future saturated with success and realization of their goals. For the girls, this includes a family and a good job (mostly conventionally female jobs, such as airline stewardess and secretary). For the boys, it assumes a comfortable financial status guaranteed by adequate higher education.

All the children are achievement oriented. Two elements, higher education and superior financial status, are the major constituents of their aspirations. The children give considerable credence to the value of academic achievement for the realization of their financial ambitions. In addition, they participate in out-of-school activities, including part-time jobs. These not only help them financially, but also enhance their social skills and their images of themselves as future earners and managers of money. The children perceive their parents as actively encouraging them in such endeavors.

The children interviewed in our research believe themselves to be physically and mentally mature, although their parents do not share this view. They treat their children as individuals who need supervision and guidance. In some cases parents are the decision-makers about rather personal aspects of their children's personal lives, such as whether to attend a party or to participate in an out-of-school activity. Children are conscious of this interference and in some cases complain about their parents' strict regulation and their limited personal freedom. This does not apply so completely to the most recently immigrated children, who are not yet at home in American society and therefore welcome a modicum of protection and guidance from their parents in everyday life.

We think that the parents have full control of their children and their activities. They do not express dissatisfaction with their children's behavior at home or performance at school. On the contrary, they are relieved that their children are not involved in disorderly conduct. They do not seem to conceive of the children as mature, or nearly mature, individuals. The youngsters to them are too young to make decisions about daily life and need constant supervision and protection until they reach a more mature stage, both physically and mentally.

Feminine values are encouraged among the girls. The traditional female role, including homemaking, is to some extent internalized by the girls. All accept the fact that they are going to form a family of their own in the future and bear children. They mention that they intend to treat and educate their children differently than they had been raised and trained, since they believe their parents to be outmoded and traditional. The boys identify strongly with their fathers, having internalized norms and values suitable for male figures. They disdain chores stereotyped as feminine and favor roles and activities normally ascribed to men.

As a part of their out of school world the children also have individual interests and hobbies. Some are members of local scouting troops, others play wind instruments in the school band, some girls participate in dancing groups, etc. In general, this group of children leads an active life outside school. Although the parents keep close watch on their children's daily life, they cannot bar them from probably their favorite activity, which is to "hang around" in the neighborhood with their peers. This occurs among the girls in informal gatherings and among the boys in bike riding and going fishing, both with friends.

We are convinced that there are no "problem children" among our subjects, which partly explains the mild behavior of the parents toward them, and the absence of reported disciplinary actions in the families. For example, one of the most serious behavioral issues mentioned by our subjects is that of arriving home later than the time previously designated by the parents.

Our field data speak of high achievement motivation among most of these children. They are all goal-oriented, especially the boys, although they do not have clear plans about future activities. Almost all these children are doing well at school, despite having to study in a language new to them, and can be considered above-average students. Unfortunately, the public school curriculum, which is light compared to the programs they experienced in their home countries has affected their performance. That is, the children concentrate more on peer group affairs than on their studies.

G. Conclusions

After reviewing our field notes and the bulk of this report we reached the following general conclusions about the ten Armenian families and their children whom we studied.

All were immigrant families with an average residence in the United States of five years. The children were first-generation Americans with diverse geographic and social backgrounds. Our data show that the longer the period of residence in this country, the greater the degree of the children's adjustment and integration to American society.

However, the norms of American life comprise a reality in contrast to the backgrounds and value systems of the parents of the children. The home atmospheres are filled with the norms and values which the families brought with them from their countries of origin, albeit influenced by the "invasion" of the media (radio, newspapers, and especially television), which present a whole new set of values. These contradictory value systems affect diverse aspects of family life, pushing the youngsters toward change in the direction of integration and assimilation to American society.

The public school as a major American institution obviously promotes the value systems of the larger society and encourages relationships which (as mentioned earlier) are not compatible with the original norms and expectations of the immigrant children and their families. Somewhat surprisingly, the children with more experience in the American educational system complain more about the school and its curriclum than the recently immigrated children, who are impressed with the school's facilities and the non-punitive approach of the teachers. While disappointed with other aspects of the school, they do not seem to resent the new system of norms and values that the institution is imposing upon them.

To achieve an educational system and atmosphere that fits the needs of children of contrasting socioeconomic, religious, and ethnic backgrounds is a considerable enterprise. It requires extensive studies of the characteristics of diverse groups, their histories, and their backgrounds.

As field researchers interested in this subject, we are glad that these issues, crucial in a multi-ethnic and pluralistic society such as the United States, are being studied seriously. We hope that the present research will be followed by further investigations aimed at the improvement of the capacity of the public school to educate effectively the children of all the various groups that enter its classrooms.

V. PORTUGUESE-AMERICAN

A. Introduction

The story of Portuguese immigration to New England starts in the sixteenth century with the early explorers. Portuguese explorers were among the expeditions of Hernando de Soto and Coronado. However, these explorers did not settle in this country. Portuguese settlement began in New England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with the immigration of Sephardic Jews from Portugal and mariners from the Azorean Islands of Portugal. These groups were followed by a wave of industrial immigration supplying low-wage labor to the New England cotton mills toward the end of the nineteenth century. Immigration from Portugal, as well as other countries, dropped drastically in the 1920's when the U.S. set quotas for immigration, and did not rise again until the immigration laws were revised in the 1960's (Ito-Adler, 1980).

Throughout these centuries of immigration, Massachusetts has been one of the major destinations of the Portuguese. From 1970 to 1977, one-third of the Portuguese entering the United States listed Massachusetts as their intended residence; in 1977, 38% of all Portuguese registered aliens lived in Massachusetts. Within Massachusetts, the Portuguese are the largest European immigrant group--47% of all European registered aliens in Massachusetts in 1977 were Portuguese (Ito-Adler, 1980).

B. Community Studied

One of the communities that has a large Portuguese settlement is Hillside, a city of approximately 80,000, located in the Boston metropolitan area. Hillside has the distinction of being one of the most densely settled cities in Massachusetts, with approximately 22,500 people per square mile. Most of the housing is single family or two- and three-family housing, closely spaced, with few and small backyards. There are very few open spaces within the city; children play in school yards, in the small city parks, or--more likely--on the sidewalks in front of their homes.

Hillside is a predominantly working class community. The median income for individuals is significantly lower than that of all of Massachusetts. Thirty-five percent of Hillside residents have a high school diploma; only 4% have any education beyond high school. While some students attend parochial schools or private schools, most attend the public schools. At the time of the study, the public school system included an active alternative school for special needs students and a bilingual program. Hillside is 85% Catholic and 99.5% white, including large numbers of Portuguese, Greek, Italian, French Canadian, and Irish families. Hillside, like other parts of the Boston area, is feeling the effects of "gentrification"--the influx of middle class and professional persons to the urban areas, and the resultant rise in rents and housing costs, as well as shifts in the balance of competing interest groups within the city.

1. Portuguese Community

Depending on how you define "Portuguese" and whom you ask, estimates for the size of the Hillside Portuguese community range from 0 to 20%.

One estimate, drawn from a survey of families that defined themselves as Portuguese, is that 5,000 to 10,000 people, or 6% to 13% of the population of the city, are Portuguese. Because the Portuguese began arriving in Hillside before the turn of the century, there are uncounted second and third generation individuals who may not identify themselves as Portuguese but whose grandparents or great-grandparents came from Portugal.

The Portuguese and their descendents are spread throughout the city, with a concentration in the Proctor Square area where the school that served as the basis for fieldwork is located. The Hillside Portuguese are in some ways distinct, but also are part of a larger community of Portuguese centered in Billington, Hillside's neighboring city. Much of the commercial and social activity of the community is located in Billington, where it is possible to shop, socialize, and worship entirely in Portuguese. In Hillside, the Portuguese community is becoming increasingly visible in the area of the Square, where there is a Portuguese-American League, Portuguese restaurants, shops and businesses, and a Portuguese Mass at the local church. However, their presence is not strong enough to push non-Portuguese businesses to hire bilingual salesclerks or use bilingual advertisements.

The Proctor Square area, like the rest of Hillside, is densely settled. Most houses are single family or two- and three-family homes, with some multiple-unit buildings in the area. The small yards often have vegetable and flower gardens, as well as shrines to the Virgin Mary. The smaller side streets are tree-lined, but the main roads are barren. The residents of the area are low-income and moderate-income individuals and families, including some of the poorer members of the city. About one-half of the Hillside Portuguese families own their own homes (Ito-Adler, 1980).

Just outside the Square proper is Maney Junior High, one of three junior high schools in Hillside at the time of this study. Maney Junior High is a depressing looking building: boarded up windows, graffiti, old green paint on the doors, dull brick and cement walls. Inside, it smells like a school; a combination of age and the odors of paper, pencils, and people. When classes break, the students file through the halls, always staying to the right side of the hall. Maney was first built around the turn of the century, but pieces have been torn down and others added, so that much of the current structure is about fifty years old. The outside playyard is a black-topped area too small for a game of soccer or softball, and (when all of the seventh grade is outside at lunch) too crowded for much more than small groups of students talking and sometimes rough-housing.

At the time of the study, the students at Maney came from six different elementary schools (two of which also feed other junior highs). The administration estimates that as many as 20-25% of Maney's 270 seventh graders are Portuguese or of Portuguese descent. Maney also has a Portuguese bilingual classroom with about 35 students who may stay in the bilingual program for up to three years before they are mainstreamed. Some of the Portuguese students enrolled in the regular program at Maney have been in the bilingual program at a nearby elementary school, also in the Proctor square area, and one of the feeder schools for Maney.

Within the Hillside Portuguese community, the level of education is lower than the rest of Hillside. Of those who spent some time in the United State education system but are no longer students, 65% have less than a high school eduation, 29% are high school graduates, and another 5% have more than a high school education (Ito-Adler, 1980). However, many immigrants, especially those over 16 when they arrive, do not enter the United States education system. Many of these immigrants do not see education as having clear economic benefits. We will return to this point in the discussion of employment and income.

Religion is an important aspect of the Hillside Portuguese community. Most of the Portuguese families (67%) attend services at Saint Benedict's Church, the Portuguese national parish in Billington. Eighteen percent of the Hillside Portuguese families attend services at Saint Matthew's in Proctor Square, although some of these families go to Saint Benedict's for baptism, communion, and marriage ceremonies (Ito-Adler, 1980).

The Portuguese of Hillside come primarily from the Azores, a group of nine islands off the coast of Portugal, about 760 miles west of Lisbon and 2,110 miles east of New York. Fifty-nine percent of the households come from Sao Miguel, the largest of the islands. A total of 84% come to Hillside from the Azorean Islands, the rest from the continent of Madeira. Sixty-eight percent of the families currently in the city came to the United States between 1966 and 1975 (Ito-Adler, 1980). One third of the heads of household (predominantly adult men) had been involved in agrarian labor in Portugal; 48% were employed at non-farming occupations such as construction, commerce, and the trades (Ito-Adler, 1980).

In the Hillside Portuguese community, 68% of the non-students are employed, most of them in the manufacture of textile products, electronics, food products, and leather products, and in service industries (primarily cleaning), in education, and in the health fields (Ito-Adler, 1980). Most of these jobs are essentially working class, as is indicated by their pay levels. Portuguese workers in Ito-Adler's survey typically made between $5,000 and $7,499 in 1977; only 3.3% made over $15,000. The median individual income for the Portuguese was $6,250.

The Portuguese put a great emphasis on the family and on the family's economic advancement. The most common strategy for advancement is for many members of the family (an average of 2.4) to be employed, and to contribute their incomes to the family. Sometimes, young adults work one job for the family and a second job for themselves. Because so many members of the household work, Portuguese households have a median income of $12,000 compared to a median household income of $9,594 for all of Hillside.

Many women in the Portuguese community are employed, at a rate comparable to that for the rest of the United States. For example, Baptista (1979) found that 48% of forty mothers of children under five whom she interviewed were employed. In Ito-Adler's survey, approximately 60-70% of the females not in school and not elderly and/or retired were employed. The combination of maternal employment and the higher rate of employment among work-age individuals in a household makes childcare an especially crucial question. There is almost no formal, bilingual childcare available to the Hillside Portuguese community. Grandmothers and other relatives are often the preferred caretakers in the Portuguese community when both parents work, but these family members are not always in this country or are themselves employed. Parents in many Portuguese families therefore work opposite shifts, usually the father in the day and the mother at night, so that someone can be home with the children (Baptista, 1979). When all the children are in school during the day, both parents may work then and rely on an older sibling to watch the younger children until one of the parents gets home from work.

As noted above, the family is the primary economic unit of the Portuguese community; it is also the primary social unit. Ninety percent of all Portuguese households include a married couple. Single parent households (primarily female-headed) account for 5.5% of the community, and 4.5% are single individuals. While the proportion of married couple households is much higher than the nation's average (14% of all U.S. households are headed by single women), in other ways the families are structurally similar. For example, only 2% of the households include grandparents; another 1% include other relatives. The mean household size is 4.25 individuals (Ito-Adler, 1980). Family, however, goes beyond the household. In the Portuguese community, there is frequent and important contact among family members who live near each other. Individuals who do not have family in this country feel that they lack an irreplaceable source of support.

C. Methodology

1. Sample Selection

Once it was decided to include the Portuguese in this project, there were several Portuguese communities to choose from. The Hillside community was chosen because one of the fieldworkers had lived there for several years and knew people in the Portuguese community. The fieldsite was limited to Hillside, even though the community actually spans two cities, because the school systems do not overlap and the project was interested in home and school.

The researchers worked through Maney Junior High to recruit respondents for the field study. The school administration was helpful and cooperative. In February of 1980, school personnel identified about forty Portuguese-surnamed seventh graders whom we contacted by letter. The letter was written in Portuguese and English, explained the project, and told the parents that the researchers would call some of them in the near future to ask if their child was interested in participating. In March a group of twenty of these children was convened at the school to explain the project. After phone calls to the families, the researchers met briefly with the parents and the children of those interested in participating, to answer questions and to get permission to include the child in the project. The final sample included four girls and three boys, with whom the researchers worked for the two remaining months of the 1979-1980 school year.

It was difficult to recruit seventh graders and then to work with the youngsters who agreed to participate. Families seemed reluctant to include an outsider, and students were generally reticent with adults. There also were other time demands on the youths, particularly to help out around the house. It is also possible that recruitment was difficult because the fieldworkers were not themselves Portuguese. However, one spoke fluent Portuguese and had lived in the Azores. More importantly, in other settings being non-Portuguese has not been a barrier to acceptance. Two other explanations are plausible. Research is not a familiar activity to most of the Portuguese community and therefore likely to be mistrusted. For these seventh graders, the activities of the fieldwork itself often seemed to make no sense.

With the seven youngsters who agreed to participate our relationships were varied. We had a sense of being trusted by some, and they enjoyed some of the time we spent together. Often, however, the contacts felt awkward. We trust what the students told us, much of which we confirmed through observation, but we know there is a lot we were not told.

With a sample of only seven students whom we saw for one or two hours a week for two months, we do not claim that what we learned is representative of "Portuguese-American seventh graders." What these students did give us was a three-dimensional, realistic sense of what the quantitative data of this study may mean. Combined with information from other sources, our observations provide some suggestions about this particular community and about some of the intricacies of home and school interrelationships.

Even if we had worked with forty girls and boys, there would still be limits on our data. These seventh graders could only tell us about their own lives in the Hillside Portuguese community at Maney Junior High. Students at other schools and in other Portuguese communities probably have different stories to tell.

2. Fieldworkers' Assumptions

The fieldworkers went into this project with their own assumptions about ethnicity, homes, and schools.

Nancy Marshall states: I am trained as an anthropologist, psychologist, and educator. I am committed to, and active in, the Portuguese community around Proctor Square. I believe that research should respect, involve, and benefit the community it studies, as well as other communities. Through my experience and my training, I have evolved a framework that emphasizes the importance in individual and group experience of environmental factors such as economic class, sex, and ethnicity. My understanding of the Hillside Portuguese community is also influenced by the fact that I grew up poor, in a working class town and church, and was educated in a middle class high school and middle class colleges. Currently I am a doctoral student at Harvard Graduate School of Education.

Mark Handler's statement, too lengthly to be placed here, is included as Section G-2 of this report.

3. "Personalities" of the Three Boys

A. is the least responsive, least expressive of the three boys. It should be remembered that his "character", and those of the other two, is that presented during the interviews. In A.'s case the interviews always occurred at school, immediately after the last class of the day. At other times and places and in other circumstances, A. may act quite differently.

In our interactions he was generally passive. He never set a time for meeting or chose a topic for discussion, leaving it to my direction. The exceptions to this passivity did not involve initiative, but rather negations of my requests or suggestions (e.g., declining to sit outside for an interview; cancelling a scheduled meeting). From first meeting to last I was never quite comfortable with A., never clearly understanding the basis of his participation. During all our meetings he spoke very quietly and somewhat unexpressively, his eyes usually downcast. He was polite and cooperative but not overtly interested in the interview. He answered all questions but was terse, only rarely elaborating his answers, and almost never volunteering information or opinions.

For instance, I asked him to show me around the school, which he did without hesitation. He led me down every corridor, naming each of the rooms (e.g. "seventh grade science", "boys bathroom") but that was the extent of his commentary. Even when we passed the Detention Room, which was occupied, and to which on the days of several of our scheduled interviews, A. himself was assigned, he had no comment. When I asked why students were there, he only said, "For not doing good in their work." Even when I directed conversation to his interests, such as how his baseball team was doing, he had little to say.

A. is reserved but not intimidated. Although low-key, he is quick in his responses. Occasionally I glimpsed a sense of humor, but one which he apparently felt inappropriate to display during our interviews. This sketch of A. is extended because I never arrived at a clear image of him. I know how he acted with me, but have little idea why. From bits of evidence I tried to construct plausible "models" of A. to test as we went along. Even with as reticent an informant as A., this process can be fruitful if interviews are carried out over an extended period of time, but this was not the case.

The pitfalls of guesswork became evident at the end of my final session with A. Until then I was gaining confidence in my hunch that A., was a "nice kid on his way to becoming a tough guy." I had seen A. on the street with older and bigger boys, had met his cousin and a friend, both of whom (while not bad kids) are rowdy and seem to spend some time "hanging out" on the street. A. had reported that he spends little time at home, is usually out with his friends. To this I added the fact that A. had detention at least three times in as many weeks. With this construction in mind I began to interpret his style of interaction with me as guarded and stoic, a kind of macho posture which he either used with everyone or reserved for dealing with authority figures.

At the end of our final interview I asked a list of prepared questions, to fill in gaps, topics which had not come up previously. Asked if the Church was important to him, A. said "I don't know." For clarification I asked, "Well, do you go to Mass every Sunday?" "Yes," he replied. "Do you do anything else, belong to a church group or anything?" "I'm an alter boy," A. said with his customary lack of affect. I joked that it was hard to understand how he could not be sure if religion was important for him when he was an alter boy. I then asked if he had volunteered or been asked to serve. At this point he launched into an extended tale of how he had become an alter boy, what it was like, and the upcoming dedication of the new church at which he would assist the Cardinal. In contrast to all our previous interviews A. told this story without prompting, providing details, and giving accounts of his feelings.

A. is a little short for his age and stocky, but not fat. He is athletic.

B. is the most mature, physically and socially, of the three. He is socially competent, self-assured, directive, assertive. He is comfortable conversing, directs discussion, offers illustrations and expands without prompting.

He has clear goals and aspirations, independently formulated. B. appears satisfied with himself, and is even tempered and good humored.

He was a good informant, providing informative answers to my questions and volunteering information and views. However, in keeping with his social maturity, he had good control of his presentation of self, letting little unintended information slip out. He often attempted, and usually succeeded, in redirecting the interviews when he found them boring or intrusive. (One session was spent, at his request, playing chess.)

One eccentricity, not properly an aspect of personality but rather of cognitive skill and identity: in giving me the phone numbers of other students to contact, B. would each time walk to the phone and go through the motions of dialing before stating the number.

He explained that he cannot remember phone numbers, but can always dial them. It is interesting that such knowledge is tacit, and noteworthy that he is aware that he is different in this regard and needs to explain it.

C. is overweight and the most serious of the three, the most academic. He is also the most restricted, more socially isolated, more subject to parental control and protection. He is also the only one with no siblings or others, besides parents, in the household. A theme running through his discussion of a range of incidents and issues is a concern for independence/autonomy (see Personal Development).

C. was a good informant. He listens closely and is thoughtful in his replies. He is similar to B in providing extended answers, detail, and volunteering information. He more consistently than the others had a clearly formulated idea of what I wanted to know (his opinions on school and education, particularly problems in need of remedy), and directed his remarks to this end. He was open and cooperative and would answer all my questions, regardless of topic (I made a point of explaining their relevance when my questions did not directly concern education). He was more precise than the others in his answers, giving a more complete class schedule, categorizing his recreational activities into kinds, and criticizing himself when he forgot an item and had to add it later. This precision was consistent with a general concern for order, manifest in such things as model building and a carefully organized collection of baseball cards for which he had a written list of holdings. More than the others he showed an interest in abstract principle, generalized, and used concrete events to illustrate general points.

He is physically less active than the other boys. In temperament he is low-key, more like A. than B. He is as communicative as

B. but less socially "smooth;" with C. there were unintended revelations. Like B. he has a clear image of himself, but his behavior, comments, and stories at times demonstrated this image to be more aspiration than actuality.

(Parallel descriptions of the four girls in the sample are not available.)

D. Relationships

1. Girls

From speaking with the girls and with other members of the community, it is evident that an important aspect of the parent-child relationship is respect. As one girl put it, a good daughter does as the parents tell her to do. While respect and obedience are the cultural norms, how the individual girls and their families act varies. Some of the girls have more autonomy than the others, in small matters like whether they have to ask permission every time they wish to do something different after school. The girls also sometimes bragged about their autonomy and then later admitted to the researcher that their parents did oversee their activities. Some of the girls feel that their parents treat them fairly, others do not. But whatever the girls' feelings about being expected to respect their parents and obey, the strength of the cultural norm is evident: the girls are generally respectful and obedient. Two of them also anticipate that their lives will be much like their mothers': "You see how your mother does things, you're used to that."

These girls have more siblings than the community norm, an average of three brothers and sisters each. Some have older siblings who are married and not living at home. The families with older sons and daughters still living at home and employed are the ones who appear slightly better off financially. Relationships between sisters seem to be different than those between sister and brother. The girls in the sample who have sisters spend a lot of time with them, share responsibilities around the house, sometimes tease each other, sometimes resent each other, and sometimes are each other's closest allies and confidants. As one sisterless girl put it, an older sister would be different and closer;

"You can't be so close to brothers." Older brothers protect their sisters, sometimes boss them around, but also are nice to their sisters and may give them spending money from their own income, according to the girls.

The extended family is important in the Portuguese community. Family can be relied on to help out both in mundane matters and in major crises. For example, when one girl's family was evacuated from their home, they were able to stay with relatives. Families also get together for major celebrations and help new arrivals in the community learn the ropes of living in this country. Because so many extended family members live nearby, this mutual aid among members is more of a central part of community life than it is in communities of more isolated middle-class families. All four of the girls have close kin (aunts, parents, cousins, grandparents) who live in Hillside. They also have kin in other parts of New England (within a day's drive), Canada, Brazil, and the Azores. Families often visit each other, and one may see kin who live nearby daily on the street and for family dinners on Sundays and holidays.

For an adult, at least, not to have family within easy access leaves a gap, both in the social world and in the person's senses of support potentially available and of how life ought to be. The children's perceptions of kin are based on matters such as whether the related household includes children their own age to play with and the kinds of activities the members of it engage in (such as babysitting or shopping). It seems that the frequent contact and bonds between adults in an extended family leads to similar connections among the youths in the kinship structure; there is not the sense of active choice as with adults, but neither is there usually resentment of the relationships. The girls have varying relationships with their peers. There are neighborhood children, most of whom are younger, with whom they most often play after school. There are same-age peers they meet at church, in classes outside school, and in school, most of whom they do not consider friends. Finally, there are a few individuals, all same-sex and same-age, whom they consider to be their friends. You know someone is your friend because "They talk to you." "They do things with you," or because you trust each other and share activities or interests. One girl talks about entering seventh grade and discovering that someone from her elementary school was in her classes: "She was the only one I knew, so of course we were friends." Friendships end when one of the girls changes her interests and/or who she hangs out with.

Most of the girls rarely, if ever, saw their school friends outside school; this did not seem at all surprising to them. When friends get together, the girls say they play games, go bowling or roller skating (outdoors), go shopping, or go for walks and talk. The researcher did not spend time with the girls when they were involved in such activities, but occasionally saw them right after school talking with their friends, and knows of times when they went roller-skating together. The girls' interactions with friends and peers are generally animated and spontaneous in a way that their interactions with adults are not.

When the girls discussed peers with the fieldworkers, their friends from school are always other girls, although in the neighborhood they often play with younger boys as well as girls. The peer groups they describe at school are always same-sex. Boys are likely to be described as noisy or immature. One girl thought this was so because "Boys like playing outside. Girls...have to help out in the house, so they grow up faster," and because boys play outside and therefore "learn stuff from the bad kids they hang out with."

Ethnic identity is not monolithic. Within the Hillside Portuguese community, there are loyalties and alliances based on village, island, the Azores, and being "Portuguese." Among the girls, a person may be identified as "part Portuguese" if her parents were born in Portugal but she was born here. Others would be considered Portuguese because their last names are Portuguese or because the girls know them as members of the Portuguese community, know they spoke Portuguese, or know they considered themselves to be Portuguese.

All four of the girls were born in the Azores, as were their parents. All speak Portuguese, some better than others, depending on how old they were when they came to this country. Some of their parents speak English, others do not. Community members talk about the difficulties this can cause for families. If parent and child do not both speak easily in the same language, this may be the root of good-natured teasing and each teaching the other. It may also lead to difficulties in communicating. Frequently children become interpreters for their parents, which role is often felt to be in direct conflict with the expected relationship respect by the child for the parent. We do not know enough about these four families to know if this is a problem for them. Clearly, however, girls who seem shy in English, can be animated in Portuguese, and vice versa.

Religion is another aspect of ethnicity. All four girls are Catholic and speak of going to church regularly, although to different churches. They all plan to be confirmed. There are differences, however, between the four families in terms of whether or not, or in what manner, they celebrate specific Portuguese holidays.

2. Boys

As is true for other topics, I have fullest information about family relations for C., for him alone data from his parents. I asked both A. and C. direct questions about discipline and communication with parents. A.'s answers were terse, C.'s more extended. More importantly, C. revealed something of his perceptions of family relations in conversation about various subjects. In B.'s case I sensed, without ever being certain why, a reluctance to talk about his family. I found myself avoiding directly questioning him.

With all three boys I delayed direct questions about the family to the last couple of interviews in the hope of obtaining undirected statements during the earlier sessions and not putting them off by asking personal or sensitive questions when little trust had been established. B. rarely said anything about his family and never anything about his father except under direct questioning. A. also said little about his family but this was in character with his general uncommunicativeness. B. was much more conversational.

For some time I was uncertain if B. had a father. I had met his mother and brother and B. would refer to both of them. There was also an undercurrent of tension, of some problem, in the house. I may have constructed a quite inaccurate "atmosphere" from stray impressions. B.'s brother was open and friendly. His mother was very reserved; she made no attempt at conversation nor did she ever extend hospitality as is customary in Portuguese homes. On the other hand, she was not rude or hostile. Rather she seemed preoccupied, perhaps depressed. I received some confirmation of my suspicions from a friend who worked in the community and knew of the family. In any case, I felt uncomfortable asking B. about his parents and he did not let the conversation move in that direction.

Relationship with Parents

In the sections on Personality and Schedules, mention was made of differences in degrees of parental control, involvement in the family, and autonomy among the three boys. Both A. and B. are out of the house more than C. Being out with friends is a theme for A. C.'s mother restricts and protects C., and he in turn shows a concern for issues of freedom of choice and autonomy. My initial phone conversations with A.'s and C.'s mothers revealed this difference. A.'s mother said she was not sure if A. could participate in the study because he was out so much, was busy playing. C.'s mother also expressed reservations about his participating, but her concern was that her son not be out of the house after school. Less clear, but perhaps falling in between, was C.'s mother's reaction when I arrived at their house for our scheduled meeting and he was not yet back from riding with his friend: she stood at the front gate (she had just arrived home), looking down the street, shook her head and said, "That boy! . . . he knew you were coming. He has no sense of time."

I asked both A. and C. about parental control, rules, and punishment. A. said that his mother makes the rules and his father punishes. C. in almost all his answers (see below) referred to his "parents." Asked who he speaks to when he has a problem, A. said he speaks to his father. C. first responded that he solved his problems, but when the question was repeated later said that he would go to his parents.

Both of them were asked whom they would speak to if they had a problem involving their parents. Both answered that they had no problems with their parents.

When the boys answered that they had no problems with their parents, were they expressing their true perceptions (whatever the actual extent of conflict), voicing a cultural ideal of family solidarity, or observing a norm of not telling outsiders about family problems? It is interesting to compare this with the willingness of Jewish kids to express their gripes against their parents to outsiders, as described in the ethnography in this volume, in terms of individualism versus familism? Can this be explained?

One often repeated statement in writings about Portuguese-Americans, particularly in discussions of school leaving and parental "materialism," is that all members of the family pool their earnings which in turn are distributed as needed by the family head. This practice is said to be a carry-over from rural practice in Portugal and it is true that peasant households in the Azores do function in this way. I asked each of the boys about jobs and money earned. For A. and C. these were hypothetical questions. B. said that the money from his paper route is his and in a bank account to be used when he returns to Portugal. Asked if he had a job and were living at home, would he give his money to his parents, A. said, "No, I would use it." C. answered the same question affirmatively.

A. was asked about parental criticism and support and only answered that his parents criticize him when he is wrong and reward him when he is good. This was an assent to my statement, not his expression.

The following extracts from my field notes describe aspects of family relations, both parent-child and parent-parent, in C.'s family:

Parental protectiveness and control:

C.'s mother calls, concerned about C.'s participation. "This [what the project is about] is not a problem. But C. can't be out on the street. I can't have him coming at any hour. He comes right home after school and stays there and is there when I come home from work. The street is full of urchins/toughs [*garotos*]. . . There's trouble. C. is big in body but still young.

At my first visit to their home, C.'s mother re-explained her concern that C. not be outside, wandering around, that he had to come home right after school, and I could meet him here. She said that the streets were dangerous and C. was 'big in body, but still young.' (This is said in his presence). She then told of his bike being stolen by some bad boys. [This tale of the bike was repeated on several occasions and used to explain why she went to the window whenever there was a noise when C. was outside playing]. She added that they were Catholic, it was parents' duty to raise their children well. She just wanted to see C. grow up, marry, be like his brother. He could make his own decisions then and be whatever he wanted.

She also spoke about his diet; that she cooked for him, made cakes and cookies. [I think this was in contrast to store-bought junk food, but perhaps was a reference to her being responsible, through overindulgence, for his being overweight.] C. interjected here, 'I broke training.' His mother commented near the end of her monologue: 'My son thinks this doesn't interest you, but I know that it does.'

The child's autonomy:

At my first meeting with C. and his mother I started to explain to her the purpose of the study, what I would talk to C about. She kept referring to the project as 'lessons' for C. She stopped my explanation and told me to go ahead and talk to C. he would see if he liked it and he would tell them about it after. She was leaving the decision to participate with C.

I comment to C. on the hot weather. He says it *is* hot and untapes the living room window, saying that the tape is still on since winter. He pulls the tape off and opens the window, then goes into the kitchen and tells his parents he has opened the window. A relatively inconsequential act, but indicative that C. can take initiative in household matters beyond areas of his personal concern.

As our interview lasted after 6:00 and his parents were in the kitchn beginning dinner, I asked C. if he shouldn't join them. He said that he doesn't eat dinner with them, he eats when he comes home from school.

Protectiveness by the child towards his parents:

C. tells me of being home alone when young, of being worried about break-ins. He recounts burglaries that had occurred. 'One time someone tried to break in through the bathroom. Now there is a board there my father put up. Also one time I heard a noise and called to my father. I told him not to go out because there might be too many of them. Then I called up stairs to the girl above and told her there was someone climbing in the window. She ran after him and saw a kid, he was young, going over the fence. (How old?) He was about 14. If I had known he was young, I would have gone after him.

Decision making and communication:

(If you have a problem who do you talk to?). I solve it myself.
(If the family has a problem should parents tell the son?) Yes.
(Should son have a say in family decisions, like moving?) No, parents decide. Kid can't stop parents from moving.
(If you have a problem and need help who do you go to?) Usually to my parents.
(To friends?) No.
(What if you have a problem with your parents?) I don't have any problems with my parents.

Discipline, rules and obedience:

(What would happen if he did bad in school?) His parents would be mad, would punish him, not let him go out, no tv, bed without supper. (What about rules, do parents control kids too much?) There should be some rules. Can't go out whenever you want. Some kids walk all over the city, go all the way to the Haymarket, buy firecrackers... They have them behind the counter and there's a secret word you use if you want to buy them. Then the kids sell them. Sometimes [firecrackers] aren't so popular. Sometimes there aren't many, then a shipment comes in and they're all over for a couple of months. [C. here appears to associate lack of parental control with kids engaging in illicit behavior. He shares his mother's vision of bad kids of the street. C. is a 'straight' kid; he does not approve of 'bad' behavior. On the other hand, he may take a vicarious pleasure in imagining the adventures of boys able to freely roam the streets.]

(What way should parents punish?) Bed without supper is wrong. No tv, stay in room, cut allowance are ok. (What about kicking a kid out of the house?) No, they shouldn't.

[The following week I returned to the subject of rules and obedience]. (Do you do everything your parents tell you?) No. (When don't you?) When I won't get hit. [This was said as a joke. He wasn't literally referring to being hit, but meant 'when I can get away with it.']

(Are you always respectful?) Yes.
(Do you always tell them where you're going?) Yes.
(Do you always tell the truth?) Yes.
(Should you criticize your parents?) [He wasn't sure what I meant, so I rephrased]. (When they're wrong about something should you tell them?) Yes.
(If you had a job would you give your money to your parents?) Yes.
(Is it ok for parents to decide their kids' friends?) No.
(Is it ok for parents to decide their kids' jobs?) Yes.
(Is it ok for parents to pick persons for their kids to marry?) No.
(Is it ok for parents to make kids work around the house?) Yes.
(Is it ok for parents to hit kids?) Depends.
(Is it ok for parents to hit kids for forgetting to do something they've been told?) No.
(Is it ok for parents to hit kids for breaking a window?) Yes, if they did it on purpose.
(Is it ok for parents to hit kids for telling a lie?) No, unless it really causes trouble.
(Is it ok for parents to hit kids for stealing?) Yes.
(Is it ok for parents to hit kids for refusing to do work and chores?) No, punish them instead.
(Is it ok for parents to hit kids if they are bad in school?) No, just help or see what is the problem, or give some other punishment.
(Is it ok for parents to hit kids if they stay out late?) What age?
(Yours) Yes.
(Is it ok for parents to hit kids if they are disrespectful?) Yes.
(What is an example of being disrespectful?) Swearing at your parents.
(What are some other punishments?): Not letting you go outside; no tv; if you want to buy something, postponing it.

[This kind of leading questioning is obviously suspect as a means of tapping C.'s real perceptions. In too many cases there are 'right answers' to be given. Still, he did discriminate among types of bad behavior and his occasional elaborations indicate that he wasn't simply 'yessing' me. One other statement from C. provides some evidence of the actualities of obedience].

(Do you get an allowance?) No. When I need something I ask my mother. She says yes or no and tells me how much rent there is, the bills, we make contracts: like one magazine a month, comics in winter, Kiss album in May. She doesn't like it [Kiss music]. Sometimes I play it too loud, she says and she gets a headache, tells me to turn it down. I have a bad temper, sometimes I turn it off and then later turn it up again.

C.'s mother tended to dominate the conversation, though his father would speak up when he had a point to make. She spoke about the father in his presence just as she did about C. telling me of their responsibleness. That C.'s mother is assertive and often the decision-maker does not strike me as at all unusual. I say this only because of the repeated stereotype in the literature which characterizes the Portuguese as "patriarchal."

In both peasant and middle class homes in the Azores, I rarely encountered any clear cut pattern of dominance/submission between husbands and wives. Often in poorer families the woman is the one to deal with outsiders. In middle class homes, men tend to talk with male visitors, women with women. Usually if there are refreshments to be served, the woman does so. In families of workers it is normal for the husband and other working members of the household to turn their wages over to the woman, who manages household finances. Women also appear in public positions; e.g., as leaders of the local branches of the political parties which emerged after the 1974 Revolution.

In immigrant households in New England I encountered many forceful women and most often patterns of joint decision-making. Portuguese, and not just outside "observers" will assert that "men are the bosses" in the family. Such ideological cliches should not be taken at face value.

> After the first session with C. I went into the kitchen and re-explained to his parents the nature of the project. Both the mother and father stood talking to me during this part. When the mother started on the responsibilities of a parent and her job experiences, the father sat down at the table and divided his attention between our conversation and the t.v. Both parents asked questions about the project.

When she was telling me about parents having to watch out for their children, she said that their family was not like some homes. She didn't stay out in the street like some women, her husband was home every day at 4:45, not out drinking. [This was said with her husband and C. listening, with an occasional interjection but otherwise watching t.v.]. Both parents said that things were different here in America: fathers mistreated their children, lots of divorce. I commented that that doesn't happen in Portugal and C.'s mother said 'Yes, it does. When I was young my father left us. My mother, of course, was still young so she was able to have another man.' Her father came to America and married another woman. C.'s mother considers this woman her stepmother and visits her. I asked about divorce in Portugal and they said it was not legal but things were changing now.

While I was in the living room with A. and his mother, she asked if I wanted anything to drink, a soda, a beer. I said yes to a beer, and she called to her husband to bring me a beer. He brought beer and a glass, noticed the glass was dirty, and went back to the kitchen to clean it.

C. commented that they didn't have a car. They had had one but his mother had given it to his brother. This is interesting for his attribution of such a major decision to his mother and not to both parents.

Relationship with Siblings

I asked A. how he got along with his sisters: "Okay." Asked if they ever had fights, he said, "No." (Does your older sister ever act like a parent, tell you what to do?) "Yes." (What about your younger sister?) "I tell her what to do." One sister is 10 years older, the other 2 years younger. Other than this brief exchange, the only indication of A.'s relation with his older sister was his telling me he wouldn't be in school the next day (I wanted to meet with him again), because if the weather was nice his sister would be taking him to see the Tall Ships. Also, as already reported, he said that he is judged to speak better Portuguese than his sisters.

B. appears to get along with his brother. Despite the age difference they do do some things together: e.g., play chess. His older brother does not speak down to him. For his part, B. respects his brother's accomplishments but does not emulate him (although there were similarities in their easy-going style). When B. discussed his plans to return to Portugal, he expressed amusement at his brother's different tastes and desire to remain in the United States.

C.'s brother has not lived at home for several years. He and his parents see his brother and his family often since they live nearby in Center City. Their age difference is the greatest of any of the sibling sets: twelve years. Earlier I cited his comment that they did not have a car because his mother had given it to his brother. In two other statements he expressed feelings of "competition" with his brother: not rivalry for achievement and attention, so much as perceived conflict of interest or lack of mutual support. The first excerpt from my notes, an early childhood memory, is striking as a metaphor for the negative side of parental protectiveness. Is it not reasonable to read this vignette as expressing housebound C.'s feelings of being "caged?"

> In giving his weekly schedule, C. reported visiting his grandmother on weekends and mentioned that she cared for his brother's baby during the week. I asked more about this and C. said that babysitters were hard to find. This led him to tell me about his parents' difficulty in finding a babysitter for him when they first came to America. When he was little, this babysitter would lock him in a chickencoop behind the house. She would take rolls from their house home to her own kids. [I think he meant instead of feeding him.] I asked if he remembered this or had been told about it, and he said he could remember his brother standing in front of the coop and not letting him out. I asked if the woman was Portuguese and if she was a family friend. She was Portuguese, someone his parents had been told about. They were new in the U.S. and did not have many friends. [Given their date of immigration, C. could have been no younger than 2 years old and his brother therefore at least 14 when this incident(s) occurred. Whatever the reality of this incident, C. certainly does not remember his brother as an ally!]

> After talking about age categories, C. told me that when he was young he always wanted what his brother had. When his brother had a tv he wanted one. (I asked if he wished he had sisters.) 'No.' (Or more brothers?) 'No.' (Or a brother closer to his own age?) 'No, with more brothers, or closer age, I couldn't have as much and I'd have to share my room. We'd have to split it in half; he wouldn't like my posters. We'd have to divide it so his stuff would be on half and mine on the other. Then as a joke he said 'I'd like to have a twin.'

The small size of these three families and the siblings are worth underscoring for two reasons. First, although definitive research does not exist there can be little doubt that the demographic structure of a household is an important determinant of home climate. Second, these data caution against accepting the image of Catholic Southern Europeans as producers of large families. The researcher cites Ito-Alder's report (1980) on the Portuguese in Hillside as having a mean household size of 4.25 (see Section II of this ethnography). For my three households the mean is 4.33. The other reports that the girls had an average of three siblings, higher than the community norm. Large families may have been more common in the first wave of immigration in the first quarter of the century. In the last forty years there has been a dramatic decline in Portugal's fertility rate, bringing it into line with the "modern" demographic profile of the rest of Europe. Azorean fertility is high within Portugal, but also currently much lower than it was before WWII. Infant mortality has also been significantly reduced in recent decades.

For mothers of children of the age of those in our study, and certainly for those giving birth in the United States, the spacing of children represents deliberate regulation of family size. C.'s parents, in a conversation comparing the islands in the Azores, commented that the people of Sao Miguel have large families (an observation, relative to the other islands, supported by census data). They thought that this was not responsible on the part of the parents, that the children suffer when limited resources are divided among too many. On other occasions, C.'s parents connected their careful childrearing practices and their love for their children to their being Catholic. Their goal is to be able to provide for their children's needs and to make possible their advancement.

It will be of interest to see if there is any correlation between family composition and climate as reported in the HCQ. In any case, the smaller family size of my informants might be considered when comparing the girls' perceptions to that of the boys; gender is not the only factor which can account for the differences in their perceptions.

Peer Relationships

A. was the only one of the boys whom I observed interacting with a friend, and this was brief and in an artificial setting. As described above, the counselor told A.'s friend X to go over and join us during our interview in the Guidance Office. X was good natured, curious, wanted to know what was going on. A. didn't say anything, did not encourage him to stay. A. seemed a little embarrassed by X's presence, or perhaps he was uncomfortable having X hear him talking to me. It may also have been simply that, as in other instances, A. did not want to take initiative and was leaving it to me to decide if X should stay or not.

I explained to X what we were doing. He stayed for about ten minutes and while he was there both boys answered my questions. On occasion, A. would disagree with X and would correct what he said, suggesting that he had exaggerated. The boys maintained independent views, though they often agreed, but avoided any conflict or argument. Neither one attempted to dominate the conversation.

Asked what he did with his friends, A. answered, "Play." This came after asking him whom he talked to when he had problems. A. asked if I know C. I said, "Yes. Is he a friend of yours?" "No, he's in my class and told me he was doing this." A. wanted to know if it were true that we met at C.'s house. This is of interest because C., listing his friends, included A. C.'s list of friends was long and probably listed all the members of his class with whom he was not on bad terms. A. distinguished between friends and acquaintances.

I have no statements from B. about relationships with peers. It may be recalled that in sorting his schoolmates he at first said they were all friends, but then he was able to distinguish twelve small cliques. One boy he refers to as a friend is the one with whom he sells papers and goes bike riding. B.'s bike is on loan from this boy. See Section VI-B for B.'s comments on peer relations at school.

Asked if he tells things to his friends and if they keep secrets. C. says he never tells them things he doesn't want known. (What do kids say when their friends find out they told a secret?) "They say, Oh, you know I can't keep a secret." (Do you have more friends this year than last?) "I have more . . . enemies. No, not really enemies. Just kids I don't like." (Why?) "The way they act." He then says that he has friends with whom he has never had a fight. Asked if there are other friends he fights with, he says, "All the others,. . . but we always make up the next day."

On another occasion, we are talking about playing sports, which C. does with friends, but not on teams, and I ask if they have problems or fights. He says no, so I give the example of a kid not liking a call or not liking the team he is picked for, getting mad and taking the only bat or ball home. "Nowadays we don't have problems like you did because everyone has their own bat and stuff." Several times during one interview the phone rang and had been answered by C.'s mother who said to the caller that C. was busy. C. commented to me that it was a friend. He had spoken to him once already to say he would play when he was done with me. At the last call, he yelled to his mother not to hang up, that he would come to the phone and "put him down."

Although I had assumed that C.'s "friends" were either boys he saw at school or those living on his street, there was one indication that he saw other friends. C. said that he knew about other junior highs from friends.

Ethnicity

All three boys are conscious of their ethnicity. This is hardly surprising given the way in which they were selected for participation in the study. The school provided the researchers with a list of "Portuguese" seventh graders. Our letter to parents and our presentation to students in the school emphasized the study's interest in ethnic comparisons. Agreement by the boys and their parents to participate in the study reflects their acceptance of ethnicity as a salient dimension in their experience. I suspect that this method of selection also tends to recruit individuals with positive ethnic self-images. Our informants, then, give us little opportunity to assess the general importance of ethnic identity in the lives of seventh graders. The questionnaire results should provide a better indication of the extent to which students are conscious of their "roots."

Ethnic labels can be ascribed by others or self-asserted, and discrepancies may occur between such labellings. The school guidance counselor prepared his list of Portuguese seventh graders partly on the basis of acquaintance with the students, and partly by selecting Portuguese surnames from the class list. This approach might miss students with anglicized names (e.g., Rogers), who though native-born and probably of native-born parents, still identify as "Portuguese-American" and participate in ethnic institutions. This procedure also included students who do not identify as Portuguese. One of the boys I called to recruit for the study declined with the explanation that he was not Portuguese, but American, despite the fact that he was born in Portugal.

Assessing the meaning of ethnicity for any individual requires much more information than either my interviews or the HCQ (which in part see us for knowledge of "roots" and parental expectations of in-group association) provides. Calling oneself "Portuguese" or "Portuguese-American" does not specify what images and expectations one associates with that label. Such labelling in itself provides little basis for inferring perceptions, behavior, or social relations.

One afternoon just after A. arrived in the Guidance Office for our meeting, two other boys, A.'s cousin and friend, entered and the counselor told them they should go over and join us, because "You are Portuguese, too." Quickly he added that the cousin should not do so because he was in the eighth grade and this was only for seventh graders. A.'s friend X. did come over and asked what it was all about. A. remained silent so I finally explained. X. referred to himself as "Portugee." He, like A. was born in Hillside of immigrant parents. But he does not know where in Portugal his parents are from, has never visited Portugal, and does not speak Portuguese.

A. speaks Portuguese at home. I commented that from his English no one would know he spoke any other languages. He responded that people say his Portuguese is better than his sisters'. He speaks a lot of Portuguese with his grandmother, who only speaks Portuguese. With his parents he speaks both English and Portuguese. I told him that having two languages seemed a good thing and he said he had three languages, since he is studying Spanish in school.

Though born in the U.S., A. has visited Graciosa with his parents and plans to go again. Both the boys I saw him with after school were Portuguese. His church is the area's Portuguese national parish.

A recent immigrant, B. identifies himself as Portuguese, not Portuguese-American. At home he speaks only Portuguese, the only language of his mother and, I believe, of his father. His brother is fluent in English. B. is relatively fluent in English, though his English lexicon is poorer than his Portuguese vocabulary. He is in the bilingual program and spends most of his school day with Portuguese-speaking students and teachers. Other than his English class (which is also with Portuguese-dominant students), only art, typing, and gym are non-Portuguese classes and these last three make up only 4 of his 30 weekly class periods. Although he can converse in English, our interviews were conducted in Portuguese, the language with which he is more comfortable and much more expressive. I found that he had trouble reading the School Climate Questionnaire so that it was necessary to administer it orally in translations, rather than leave the written questionnaire with him as I did with A. and C. (see School Climate, below). He once commented on a girl in his class as "Uma que tem mania que sabe Inglez" ("One who makes a thing out of knowing English"), but really doesn't.

At our first meeting, after I explained to him and his brother that we wanted to know what kids think about school, what specific suggestions they have for making schools better, B. said: "Schools should be just for Portuguese or English, not mixed. Americans cause trouble for Portuguese." His brother interrupted, telling him (and me) that it isn't a matter of Portuguese or American, that there are good and bad in any group. He never again mentioned having trouble with American students. Two weeks after our first meeting I asked if all his friends were Portuguese and he answered that he had both Portuguese and American friends. The one friend that I saw him with is Portuguese. Later, in talking about his arrival in the U.S., he said that he had been lonely until he started the bilingual program and met other Portuguese kids.

Telling a story about a neighbor's garden, B. referred to the family as "Italians." I asked if his street had mainly Portuguese, Italians, or others. He said that there were lots of Portuguese and pointed out the houses occupied by Portuguese.

My conversations with C. were in English. He, like A., has been educated entirely in the U.S. He speaks Portuguese with his parents. His parents know some English, but my conversations with them were all in Portuguese. On one occasion when I stayed for dinner with his parents, as C. was leaving the kitchen to go play, he responded to his father in English. I did not hear enough of their quick exchange to be certain what was involved in this language switching. It may have been that C. simply lacked a Portuguese expression for his reply. He may also have felt it necessary to use English in my presence. When I talked to his parents, C. would usually remain quiet and often leave (my conversations with the parents occurred after C. and I had talked alone for at least an hour). When he did speak he would talk to his parents in Portuguese and to me in

English, although his parents and I would be conversing in Portuguese. A third possibility is that C. used English with his father to bring the exchange to an end, to dodge answering.

Both C. and his mother attach importance to knowledge of languages. I suspect that C.'s viewpoint on this matter derives from his mother. On my first visit to their home she told me something of her and the family's background and initial experiences in America. Part of this was recounted when she came into the livingroom midway through my interview with C., wanting to watch the "lesson." She then gave her understanding of the project's aim which was that there are children who don't know about things like cattle and farming, who came from different places. C.'s family is from Portugal where her husband had been a farmer. C. talked to his father about these things and that this is what I wanted to know about.

Then she spoke of her experiences. These remarks were directed to me, but also seemed intended to remind C. of his mother's viewpoint. Later in the kitchen she expanded on these remarks, talking to me while her husband and C. watched tv. Her comments on language were as follows:

> Where she now works there are only Portuguese and it makes her feel good to hear English conversation [referring to C. and me talking]. When she first worked in the U.S., at a bridal shop (ironing and then as a seamstress), she really liked that job: she was the only Portuguese and she learned English ('not too much', but she 'could understand ok and talk to people'). There were 'others' there, for example, Greeks -- 'when two Greeks get together they only speak Greek.' She commented that Americans don't learn other languages. I agreed saying that some Americans think English is the only language. She said that her mother, 'who doesn't know English but uses sign language in the stores', says: 'They do so much business with us, they should learn to speak to us.' C.'s mother then told of her own difficulty after arrival in the U.S.. She went shopping, looking for fish, went to a grocery, didn't see any fish. She couldn't ask since she did not yet know any English, but took a pencil and drew a picture of a fish and the clerk took her outside and pointed the direction to go and said 'far' which she understood.

A week later when I asked C. about his educational plans he replied: "Go to college, study French and Spanish." I then asked what kind of job he wanted. He said that he didn't know but it's "good to have three or four languages, helps get a good job." C. is currently taking Portuguese as an elective.

For C.'s parents their ethnicity is positively valued and used as an explanation of their behavior. They made frequent reference to their Portuguese-ness. Part of this usage was no doubt provoked by their perception of my interest, but such references also appeared to be habitual for them: "we Portuguese" is for them a ready turn of phrase. Here are some examples:

> In our first phone conversation, C.'s mother expressed her concern about C. not being home after school, being out on the streets, that she wanted me to meet with him at their house. Elaborating on the dangers of the street and the need to protect her son, she said, 'Mothers must do these things', and then observed that not all do. I asked where she was from. 'Faial . . . my way of raising children I brought from there.'
>
> When I asked C.'s parents if they would ever return to Portugal to stay, they answered with ambivalence. First, they said no, then said they had family there. The mother began to say, 'With our sons here . . .' and her husband spoke up, 'You know how Portuguese are: they love their children and after that there are grandchildren, with them here . . . Children are their life.'

"Portuguese" is a salient social identity only after migration. In the islands, family and village are the common categories when individual identity or role are not used. There are also well-developed inter-island rivalries and accompanying sterotypes. The most encompassing identity is as "Azorean" in contradistinction to "Continental". In the U.S., migrants find themselves classified as "Portuguese" at the same time that their more localized identifies (e.g., descent and residence) are no longer meaningful, except in limited occasions of interaction with kin and other migrants from their community of origin. However, island and "Azorean" identities remain personally important. Thus C.'s mother relates her attitudes to children to her being from Faial. (She could do so with me only because I had been in the Azores.)

Inter-island distinctions remain salient for C. as well as his parents:

> I asked C. about his weekend, what was new. He told me he had gone to a 'Portuguese Feast.' I asked about it and found out that it was the Festa de Espirito Santo at the Portuguese Church. He said that it hadn't been done right: 'The bread was wrong and the soup had cabbage in it,' and that they had 'the usual rip-off games' [referring to lotteries and other fund-raising contests]. I asked who had organized the feast and he said, 'They were from all over, not from one island.' My question had been open and I had expected him to name a club or organization or individuals. He told me that the second week in July there would be a feast in 'Santa Maria style' in another city and that he liked this better. He and his parents go up every year, have relatives there.

Related to the perception of ethnicity was a comment by C.'s mother which reveals a foreshortened view of immigration history and an identification of "Portuguese" with recent immigrants:

> She said that when her brothers came to the U.S. before her, at the time of the Volcano [in 1959 when immigration quotas were lifted following the 1957 volcanic eruption on Faial], there were 'not many Portuguese' here. You'd have one in New Bedford, some more in Central City, but not like now. It was harder then for immigrants better when she came in 1970, and now there are lots of Portuguese. [It is true that in the late 1950's there were relatively few recent immigrants, the Refugee Act of 1957 being the first lifting of restrictions since 1926. But there were sizeable populations of Portuguese immigrants and their descendants from the first period of mass Portuguese immigration.]

One final observation on "identity," related to "Portugueseness": on several occasions C.'s mother repeated her characterization of the study's interest as related to their being from Portugal and to C.'s father having been a farmer, unlike other children's fathers. This occupational change appeared as a major theme in their recounting the experience of immigration. C.'s mother made frequent reference to her husband's skill as a farmer and told me that C. liked to talk to his father about these things, although C. himself never expressed such interest to me and on those occasions when his father and I spoke at length about crops and animals C. left the room. C.'s father takes pride in his agricultural knowledge and relished the opportunity to recount his life in the islands. He knows that this is a life he will never return to and this is a source of pain to him.

E. Organization

1. Girls

When the researcher first walked into the house of one of the girls, she was surprised. Many other homes in Hillside are old buildings, neatly furnished, but clearly low-income. This home, the first floor of a two family house, was furnished with new furniture and a modern kitchen. With both parents working, the family is "solidly working class." Some of the homes of the other girls are similar to this one, and some are more like the homes of poorer families in the neighborhood. Often they have small gardens in a back or side yard.

For the girls, their "neighborhood" is one block long. When their mothers say "Don't go far," they mean the child to stay within the block. The girls know other children and some adults on their block, but not many peers, outside of family and schoolmates in other parts of the city. When they play after school, it is often with the other children on their block. Occassionally the girls go further away from home, report that they have gone on their own to other parts of the city, but when they talk about where they spend their time, the block usually is it. It is possible that they are just beginning to be allowed to travel further and their description of their lives has not caught up with practice, or that the idea that they must not go far is so much a part of how they see their world that they do not alter their descriptions to fit what they do.

Three of the four girls spontaneously mentioned cleaning when asked what they do besides go to school. They are responsible for cleaning up daily around the house. The girls are also involved in the care of younger children -- their siblings or relatives' children -- although always with an adult available. Each of the girls goes to church on Sunday and attends CCD religious classes. On weekends, the girls may go shopping with family or visit relatives' families. Two of the girls also participate in after-school activities or take classes or lessons, but these activities are all within walking distance of home.

How these girls spend their time seems a function of their parents' workloads, role expectations, their family's income, and their family's sense of boundaries. Both parents work in all four families: help from the children is a necessity. However, it is primarily the girls who do the cleaning and watch the younger children. These are part of the expectations of females in Portuguese families. Because these families are working class, there is little money available for special activities for the girls (like lessons or classes outside school). Finally, a combination of preferring family ties and concern for safety of children in the city also presses the girls to stay close to home.

2. Boys

Home

At A.'s request all interviews with A. were conducted at school. On the one occasion when he was given a ride home he asked to be let out at the end of the street, so I have no idea what even the exterior of his house looks like. In reply to a question concerning chores and making his bed, he said that his family " has a small house, only eight rooms" (I may have misheard this number), and that he shares a bedroom with his grandmother. However, A. emphasized on several occasions that he spends little time at home, has little responsibility there.

All of my meetings with B. were at his house. In its furnishings the dwelling appears more middle than working class and differs considerably from houses of other Portuguese immigrants I know. Absent are the inexpensive decorative knickknacks (as small glass and ceramic pieces, artificial flowers), family and religious pictures, oversized stereo and color tv. The house is owned by B.'s uncle, owner of a small fish market, who occupies the second floor of this well-cared for duplex. In front of the house is a porch and small garden. The rear is cemented and used to park the families' cars: a pickup truck (his uncle's), a sports car (his cousin's) and perhaps his brother's Fiat coupe (which in the afternoons was parked on the street). I do not know if B.'s father also owns a car.

My visits were almost entirely restricted to the front room of the house, though once we entered from the rear, walking through a large kitchen-dining room, down the front hall, past closed doors, to the front. The room is furnished not as a parlor but as a study, used by B.'s brother. There is a desk, small couch, bookcases, and nature posters on the walls. Most of the books are health texts: his brother works at a hospital and is studying to be a paraprofessional health care worker. Lots of paperwork, letters, photographs (his brother's hobby). B. also has some of his school work and other belongings (e.g., games) stored in this room. There is also a 35mm and movie camera on a shelf. On my first visit, his brother made a point of having me sit at the desk, "where the light would be good for you to write." Sometimes, at my initiative, B. and I would sit on the front porch or on the couch in the front room, but most often we sat facing one another across the desk.

Although the two families appear to have separate living space in the house, there is some common use or at least access. With the front door to his apartment locked, B. entered by way of the second floor at the rear and then down an inside stairway connecting the two apartments. My only other observation on function and layout of the house is that B.'s mother visits with her friends around the dining room table in the kitchen-dining room. The television is also located here.

All meetings with C. were at C.'s house. I also spent more time here than with the other boys and had much more interaction with his parents, talking to them alone, and having dinner with them. I saw all the rooms of the apartment. Interviews were conducted in the front room, the parlor. The neighborhood (a two block street adjoining commercial property) and the house itself are much more rundown that B.'s. There is no yard of any use. The house is set back a short distance from the sidewalk, with a small paved area between the house and the low fence along the sidewalk. The front door of the wooden building is unlocked and often ajar, opening onto a narrow dark hallway leading to a stairway on the left and to the right along the base of the stairs toward the back of the house to the door to C.'s apartment.

The style of furnishing is similar to what I have seen in the homes of other Portuguese immigrants. (C.'s family is from the Azores, from a rural background, while B.'s is from the continent and a more urban community of origin. B.'s family appears to be wealthier even though the parents in both families are working in factory jobs. In B.'s household there is the added income of one working sibling, and the house itself is owned by B.'s uncle who owns a small market.

In any case, there is quite a bit of inexpensive decoration and display and a few pieces of consumption (a new, ornate stereo cabinet; a small electric organ). This front room appears to be used.

C. plays his records there and it appears to be arranged to receive visitors. His parents remained in the kitchen during the interviews but I suspect that this is where they would normally be in the evening. The television in the front room was not working but a second tv was working in the kitchen at the end of a long table where the family eats. The dining room appears to be a room of display and not of use, with everything very neatly arranged and the table and cabinets covered to overflowing with photographs and other objects.

C.'s bedroom is small, a bed taking up the length of one wall and the corners to the side of the door filled with a dresser and bookcase. The room seems more cramped than it is because the walls are completely covered by large posters of the rock band, "Kiss." Also on display on a table top are small car and airplane models and less prominent, over the dresser, are religious pictures. In showing me his room C. apologized that it was not neat, but in fact it seemed very much in order. In addition to teen magazines there were about ten books, most from the library. He made a point of showing the models and books to me.

Related to his attitude toward space in the house, though more directly tied to his concern with autonomy and to family relations, is C.'s statement, when asked if he wished he had other siblings at home, that no it was better to be alone because otherwise he would have to share his bedroom: "We'd have to split it in half, he wouldn't like my posters. We'd have to divide it so his stuff would be on one half and mine on the other."

Neighborhood and Beyond

As already mentioned, I never saw A.'s house or street. He lives farthest from the school, to which he both walks and is driven. His world includes this three-fourths of a mile of residential streets between his home and the school. He is on a baseball team sponsored by a local business, and so his personal geography includes the nearby park with its playing fields. One friend with whom he plays and hangs out lives two blocks from his house. I don't know where his other friends live. His former elementary school is located about halfway between his house and the Junior High.

Both of these schools are to the north of A.'s house and within three blocks of Proctor Square, the shopping area nearest to the homes of the other two boys also. A little under a mile in this direction is the Portuguese Church, which serves the community in both Hillside and the adjacent city. I do not know if A. walks or is driven to church, but it is likely that he is familiar with the street it is on. Less speculatively, A. has relatives in another city with whom his family often visits on Sundays.

Even though it is based on fragmentary information, this list probably includes all of the places which are routinely part of A.'s experience. Obviously, it far from exhausts the territory with which he has more limited familiarity. In the course of the interviews he mentioned two such places: in 1978 he went with his parents to their community of origin on the island of Graciosa in the Azores; in June of 1980 his sister took him to Boston to see the Tall Ships.

B. lives less than a block from the Junior High on a tree-lined street of single-family, duplexes, and a few multifamily houses. After school, at least until dark, there are usually small groups of junior high-age and some older boys at the side of the school and on the corner across from it. All along the street, on the sidewalk and porches and yards of the houses, young children of both sexes and girls in their early teens play and talk in small groups, usually of no more than six members. As far as I know B. does not associate with any of these groups or the corner hangers. For recreation he rides his bike, usually with one close friend,throughout the neighboring blocks. It was in this area that I saw him several times, but in answer to a question he says he rides farther off, "all over, even to Boston."

At least two of the houses nearby have neighboring relations with B.'s family. On several occasions B.'s brother entered the house next door and at other times called across the yard to men of that household. B. pointed out and told me that he went swimming in the pool of the house behind his. In answer to a question, he identified the houses along his street where Portuguese lived and indicated that some others were "Italian."

Proctor Square is a significant place for B., for it is here that he sells newspapers every morning with an older friend, the one with whom he rides. Saturday mornings he regularly goes to the YMCA and on Sundays he visits relatives in Methuen. He also mentioned visiting the zoo when listing his recreations. I assume that this is Franklin Park Zoo, south of Roxbury in Boston.

In some respects B.'s community of origin in Portugal should be considered an "important place," a "main part or component of his social and physical world." B. has been in the U.S. for a year and a half but I sensed that although he felt in control of his local environment, no longer finding it strange or overwhelming (if he ever had), he continued to think of his town in Portugal as home. He expressed a strong intention to return permanently to Portugal when he finishes high school and he was going for summer vacation soon after school ended (June, 1980). While some of his descriptions of Portugal were at my prompting, several times he brought it up, usually to contrast with some aspect of his present life. For example, while we were sitting on the front porch of his house, B. ended a lull in the conversation by pointing out a distance from the last house in view on the left down to the end of the street and saying that is how many houses are on his entire street in Portugal, that the street is a cul-de-sac, and that the kids there used to have races around and around to see who could last the longest. Once they had gone ten kilometers and he had gone the farthest.

C. lives about half a mile southeast of Maney and his walk to school takes him through Proctor Square. A block east of his house is a discount department store whose large parking lot is used as a play area by C. and others in his neighborhood. Beyond the department store, a highway provides a physical boundary to the neighborhood. C. does not spend much time outside and when he does, he usually plays on his street with younger children. He once had a bicycle but it was stolen from him by older boys when he was riding in the parking lot. His parents at present do not have a car, though they did in the recent past. On Sundays, they visit his grandmother who lives in another city, and his brother's family in the adjacent city. When his brother worked as a cook at Boston University, C. went with him to the kitchen and was paid for peeling eggs. C. also mentioned the public library, located four blocks beyond the junior high, as a place he goes.

C. attended two elementary schools: one three blocks from his present home, for kindergarten, one semester of first grade and grades four, five, and six; and another from the middle of grade one through grade three. The second school is three-quarters of a mile east and on the other side of the highway. During these years C.'s family occupied another house. Their present apartment is the same one they occupied before the move to East Hillside.

C. says that he likes to travel and that he has been to "Portugal" (i.e., Faial in the Azores, his birthplace) twice, and once to Montreal.

Time

This section summarizes how the boys structure their time, their activity schedules. On the accompanying chart showing their daily schedules, all information was provided by the boys in response to my request that they describe what they usually did each day of the week. The chart then represents their perceptions rather than their actual use of time. I had few occasions to check by observation the accuracy of these reports, but there are indications that these schedules are somewhat idealized. For example, B. reported that he plays with his friends after school until about 3:30, when he returned home to do his homework. But on one afternoon when we had an interview scheduled for 5:00 he was out riding his bike at 4:30 and did not return until after 5:00. I do not know if this was an exception, a day when he perhaps had no homework, or if in fact his afternoon play usually extends more than he reported. (See comments below on omissions.)

The schedules are for activities during the school year. I

ACTIVITY SCHEDULES

A

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY
5							
6							
7							
8			SCHOOL				
9	SCIENCE SPANISH INDUSTRIAL ART " " LUNCH ENGLISH MATH HISTORY	SPANISH STUDY " MATH LUNCH ENGLISH HISTORY SCIENCE	MUSIC GYM MATH HISTORY/ LUNCH ENGLISH SCIENCE SPANISH	HISTORY OF SPORT MATH HISTORY SCIENCE LUNCH ENGLISH SPANISH MUSIC	MATH HISTORY SCIENCE SPANISH LUNCH ENGLISH STUDY CHORUS		VISITING RELATIVES
12						BASEBALL OR PLAYING W/ FRIENDS ↓	
2							
3	T.V.	→	→	→			
4	OUT TO PLAY/ BASEBALL, ETC.				GUITAR LESSONS		
5							
6	[SOME DAYS HE HAS BASEBALL GAME AT 6:00]						
7	DINNER	→	→	→	→		
8	OUT TO PLAY	→	→	→	→		
9	HOMEWORK (IN SUMMER STAYS OUT UNTIL 9-10)	→	→	→	→		
10							

B

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY
5	ARISES 5:[illegible]						
6	SELLS NEWSPAPERS ON STREET		→	→	→		
7							
8			SCHOOL				
9	SOCIAL STUD. SCIENCE [illegible] ENGLISH STUDY/LUNCH PORTUGUESE MATH	SCIENCE STUDY ENGLISH PORTUGUESE STUDY/LUNCH MATH SOCIAL STUDIES	ART SPANISH PORTUGUESE MATH STUDY/LUNCH SOCIAL STUDY SCIENCE	ENGLISH PORTUGUESE MATH SOCIAL STUDY STUDY/LUNCH SCIENCE ART	PORTUGUESE MATH SOCIAL STUDY SCIENCE STUDY/LUNCH GYM ENGLISH	YMCA	VISIT RELATIVES OR GO TO ZOO
12							
2							
3	PLAYS WITH FRIENDS, e.g. SOCCER			→	→		
4	HOMEWORK	→	→	→	→		
5							
6	DINNER	→	→	→	→		
7	T.V. ("HAPPY DAYS")		→	→	→		
8							
9	RETIRES	→	→	→	→		
10							

[[illegible] HOME AT [illegible]]

C

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY
5							
6	ARISES						
7	T.V. (SPORTS NEWS)						
8			SCHOOL			ARISE	
9	PORTUGUESE SCIENCE ART/MUSIC STUDY LUNCH ENGLISH MATH [illegible]	SCIENCE ART/MUSIC STUDY MATH LUNCH ENGLISH HISTORY [illegible]	INDUSTRIAL ARTS MATH HISTORY/ LUNCH [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	STUDY MATH HISTORY PORTUGUESE LUNCH ENGLISH [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] SCIENCE LUNCH ENGLISH [illegible] [illegible]	PLAY ↓	MASS
12							
2							
3							VISIT RELATIVES
4	[HOMEWORK]						
5	[DINNER]						
6	"BASEBALL, BIKE, HOCKEY, KNOCK AROUND"						
7							
8							
9	RETIRES (OR AS LATE AS 10:30)						
10							

[MOTHER HOME AT 3:45
FATHER " " 4:45]

Items in brackets not included in reporting of schedule but mentioned incidentally in response to other questions include their class schedules, which were elicited separately from the daily schedules. The school day is striking for its rigidity and complexity. Except for lunch, the "content" of each of the eight 40 minutes slots is different each day of the week. The three boys recited this schedule without difficulty (although both A. and C. paused on one period on Thursday and had to think it through). They made no comment on this regimentation of time, although they remarked at other times on the regimentation of behavior at the Junior High. I would have thought that this dividing of the day into separate classrooms, teachers and subjects would have been notably different from their elementary school experience. But at least in C.'s elementary school they had also had different teachers for different subjects. So perhaps this living-by-the-bell (an aspect of "hidden curriculum" which some commentators have rightly noted is essential in the work habits of industrial labor) is taken for granted as a characteristic of school. It is then of interest how undifferentiated their weekend time is.

All three boys explicitly distinguished the summer from the school year. They may have had this distinction particulary in mind because at the time of the interviews, May and early June, the summer vacation was near at hand. In the summer the six hours of school and time spent on homework are available for recreation. Only B. now has a job and he is the only one who mentioned work during the summer, when he has the possibility of working in his uncle's store. C. claimed that in summer he plays from 10:00 a.m. until midnight. Summer is also the time for family vacations. Both A. and B. expect to visit Portugal this summer and in two earlier summers C. has gone

387

there. Several of the boys I called concerning participation in the study declined with the explanation that they were going to Portugal as soon as school ended.

Examination of the schedules reveals several similarities and some small differences. A. spends the most time out playing. When I first phoned to arrange his participation, A.'s mother said it was okay with her, but that A. "is very busy, plays ball." She told me that A. was out (it was 5:20), that he likes to play until 8:00. but that if he thought he had time it was alright with her. In a later interview when I asked him about household chores, A. replied, "I'm not home much." B. reported the least time out of the house playing, although he did not indicate where he was between 7:00 and 9:00 at night. B. retires the earliest and is up the earliest so he can work before school.

All three watch television, with A. reporting the most viewing time (1 1/2 hours/day). None mentioned watching television on the weekend and C. only made reference to watching the early morning news. However, on one occasion he related an incident from the program, "Welcome Back Kotter," and I observed him watching the evening news with his father. In his schedule, B. named "Happy Days" as a regular event in his schedule but did not say if this is the only program he watches.

A. leaves homework for the end of his day while B. (3:30-5:00) and C (2:45-4:30) do theirs in the afternoon. After telling me when he did his homework, C. commented that some kids do it at night but he likes to do his when he comes home. On Fridays he sometimes leaves it until Saturday, but never does homework on Sundays. Sometimes he studies more, if he has a test. It only takes him one day to learn his material.

Although A.'s time is the least structured by family activity and responsibilities, he is the only one of the three who has any non-school-structured activity: he plays on an organized baseball team which has practices and weekly games, and he takes guitar lessons for an hour on Friday. B. regularly uses the YMCA facilities on Saturday mornings but he does not participate in organized activities. He swims, uses the sauna and works out with weights.

My questions only superficially tapped their working knowledge of their own schedules of activity and did not elicit their judgments and perceptions of their schedules. Omissions in the reporting may indicate either: (1) the unimportance of the activity, so that it goes unnoticed by the boys or is thought unworthy of mention; or (2) assumptions concerning common knowledge, so that the "obvious" is not stated. In this light, it would be interesting to know why A and B did not report church attendance. C. did so as simply one more item in his listing of activities. In B.'s case, I do not know if he in fact goes to Mass. But A. is an altar boy, though I did not know this at the time I recorded his schedule. Perhaps he thought Sunday mass such a universal occurrence that it was not part of his individual schedule, but something everyone did. Or more simply, he assumed that I knew he would be at church Sunday mornings. This assumption was not shared by C. It should also be recalled that A. tended to be curt in his answers, whereas C. was detailed and exhaustive in his.

389

The time of return of parents was not reported by the boys when they gave their schedules, but it is known from observation and comments on other occasions. Both B. and C. return to empty houses after school. In A.'s case his mother is currently unemployed and his younger sister and grandmother are also presumably home in the afternoon.

The boys differ in one other manifestation of attention to structured time: the use of wristwatches. At least at school, where I observed him, A. did not wear a watch. B. sometimes wore a watch, sometimes not. On one occasion he explained that he was late for our meeting because his watch was wrong. Another day, when he was again late, his brother told me that B. had known we were meeting because he had asked the time before going out. A final example of his awareness of time: midway through an interview that began at 4:00 B. started commenting that his mother should have arrived home already; she arrived perhaps fifteen minutes later than usual. C. at one time owned a watch, but did not normally wear it. In recounting a burglary of his house, he said that he and his mother did not wear their watches so his father kept them on the dresser to wind and they were stolen from there.

Household Responsibilities

Asked about household chores, the boys reported quite different responsibilities. A. does little in the way of household chores and has no regular responsibilities. B. stated that in his house each member of the family cleans up after himself/herself. C. helps with some of the household cleaning. Both A. and B. affirmed that housework is "women's work." Following are the responses in more detail, including comments on wage jobs.

Talking to both A. and his friend X., I asked them about "chores." They said that the women of the house do the housework, that this is fair. The boys do some watering, shovel snow in winter. They or their fathers take out the trash. They did not seem to have any regular chores. I asked about making their beds. A. explained that his grandmother makes the beds and picks up after him. Neither of them gets an allowance; when they need something they ask their parents for money and are given it. To my question, they both said they would like to have jobs, to have money. They both said that they really don't have any work around the house because they aren't home much.

B. and I were sitting on the front steps. His mother returned home from work and paused to look over the small vegetable and flower garden in the front yard. I asked who takes care of the garden, and B. answered, "My mother, and on the other side of the walk my aunt," I asked, "And the men of the family?" His mother laughed and said, "No, they don't do anything with it." After she went in and after we talked about other topics, I returned to work on the garden and used it as a lead-in to ask about household responsibilities. Not knowing the Portuguese word for "chores," I gave the example of my having to take out the trash when I was young. B. responded to my listing of other types of tasks that, yes, he makes his bed, he cleans a dish if he dirties it, that each one in the family cleans up separately. He said that it is the same way with his friends.

I said I thought that girls did more, help mothers cook, take care of brothers and sisters. He replied that it is true that they do, girls do housework. Asked if this were fair, he said, "Yes, girls work in the house, men out." I followed this up with the observation that in the Azores I had seen that children had lots of responsibility and that I thought that having responsibility might be why they seemed more mature than Americans of the same age. He said he understood what I meant, but when asked if he thought Americans were more childish than Portuguese of the same age he said, "No, some are, some aren't." He then cited the case of an "ugly girl" who worked in Portugal, but now that she is here in America she doesn't do anything, "just paints herself and does her hair and thinks she looks good and that everyone likes her."

As stated earlier, B. is the only one of the boys who has a job. With an older friend he sells newspapers in the morning, before school, on a corner in Proctor Square. They sell to motorists who stop at the traffic light. He sells 20-25 papers a day, his friend 30-35. I asked how much he makes per paper, but he doesn't think of it that way. "I collect, say $20 and take it to the man and he tells me how much to keep." He has $500 in a savings account, $100 of it from selling papers. He is saving the money for his trip this summer to Portugal. He'll use the money to buy things there.

Interview C.: (What chores do you do?) "Vacuum." (Do you make your bed?) "No, I don't know how." (What about dishes, cooking?)

"I help out when my mother is sick. I don't know how to cook. Oh, I know how to fry things, eggs. We have a Presto cooker, easy to use, but I don't know how to cook complicated things. My brother used to do the cooking." (He did?) "Yes, he was a chef. Worked at BU. Now he drives a truck there." (You should have him teach you). "No, ...not now. His chicken is real good."

Related comments: Although C. says that making his bed is not his responsibility, during a subsequent interview his mother came in and complained that he had not made his bed as he was supposed to.

On not cooking: in reporting his class schedule, C. explained that both boys and girls are now required to take both industrial arts and home economics. He believes that only academic courses should be required, that after that you should take what you want, and then be able to go home. I asked if he didn't want to learn to cook. "No (What if there's no one to cook for you, how will you eat?) "I'd go to the store and buy a can of tuna."

On women and wage labor: see my "Azoreans in America" in Joan Rollins, ed.: Hidden Minorities, University Press of America (in press) paper for a discussion of the "woman's place is in the home" ideology and the actualities of wage labor. Here it is of interest to quote two statements by C.'s mother. "When I was laid off from the bridal shop, I was very sad; I liked that job. But I couldn't stay home. I was used to working, doing all the cleaning, making the beds quickly before going to work. What was there to do all day? We also needed the money." She was not out of work long when she found her present job at the nearby shoe factory. She said that it is "bad work" and showed me her calloused fingers. On another occasion, talking to C.'s mother and father, they asked if I were married. I told them that I was waiting until I finished school and was earning money. They said I should find a fiancee who is working. Finally, when giving his genealogy, C. told me about his father's mother, who is 80, emphasizing how strong she is. She carries water up hill to her house. She cooks and cleans for her unmarried son.

Family and Kin

A.'s household consists of his parents, two sisters (one 20, the other 10), and grandmother. B. lives with his mother, father, and brother (in his early 20's). His uncle, aunt, and cousin(s) live on the second floor of the two-story house. C. lives in the smallest household, alone with his parents.

The parents of all the boys are either factory workers or in service occupations. My information on parental education is not clear. All the boys' parents were educated in Portugal, but A. and C. both used English terms to describe their parents' level of schooling. Educational opportunity in Portugal is limited, particularly in rural areas like the Azores. Until 1960, only three years of school were compulsory. In 1960 this was changed to four years and in 1967 to six years. In many areas there were no public secondary schools, in some places not even private ones. Before the last decade, with few exceptions, the only avenue for peasant and working class children to pursue post-primary education was entry into a seminary, and this was limited to boys who professed interest in joining the priesthood. In Portugal, primary school begins at age 7 and lasts four years (1-4 "classe").

Advancement in the educational system is dependent on passing nationally standardized tests at each level. Secondary education lasts seven years ("anos") with levels of completion at the second, fifth and seventh years. Fifth ano qualifies students for entry into technical school; seventh ano for university. In the mid-1970's every parish had a primary school, but secondary schools were located in cities. In the Azores this meant that some islands had no secondary schools. It is in light of this educational situation that I found A. and C.'s responses ambiguous.

A. said that his father finished fifth grade. I asked if he meant "quinto ano" and he said yes. This would be a high level of education for most Azoreans of his father's generation, certainly for immigrants. It would have required family economic resources not available to laborers, craftsmen, or even small landowning farmers. I believe that it would have necessitated leaving Graciosa to attend secondary school on another island. While uncommon, it would not be improbable. It might also be that A. knew that his father had finished all but one year of elementary school and so said "fifth grade." A. said that his mother had no schooling.

In C.'s case I suspect that I either misheard or misrecorded what C. answered. My notes show that he said that his father had no education and his mother a "tenth grade" education. I had extended talks with C.'s parents and learned some details of their life in Faial. C.'s father came from a poor family, worked as an agricultural laborer, then farmed rented land. For some years before immigrating he was, by Azorean standards, a financially secure small farmer: meeting the subsistence needs of his family, growing a small cashcrop, and keeping a herd of a dozen cows. C.'s mother came from a farming family, landowners who were socially and financially better off than her family of marriage. Even so, tenth grade would be an extraordinary amount of schooling for such a family. Also, literally there is no Portuguese tenth grade, the equivalent being "sixth ano" the term his Portuguese-speaking mother would have used.

The information from B. was more clearcut. His father had "some primary school," his mother none.

As to parents' literacy the only certain indications I have concern B.'s and C.'s mothers. I observed (actually, overhead) B.'s mother dictating a letter to her older son; which suggests that she did not know how to write. C.'s mother mentioned reading saying she likes to look at C.'s books to improve her knowledge of English.

A.'s older sister is a business major at Boston University. B.'s brother works at a nearby hospital and is studying health care, but I do not know where or what type of professional training. B.'s brother completed high school (seventh ano) in Portugal after his military service, and then worked as a draftsman before the family emigrated. C.'s brother, married and living in the adjoining city, is a driver at Boston University, where he formerly worked as a cook. I do not know his level of education. He was ten years old at the time of migration, so presumably he attended high school in Hillside, at least until school leave age of sixteen.

As indicated on the schedules, three families visit relatives on Sundays, all of whom live within an hour's drive. B. has frequent contact with his uncle, aunt, and cousins (one his age), in whose house

B.'s family lives. C. has a step-grandmother in the next city, but did not say how often he sees her.

From one of the boys, C., I have a detailed, more traditionally anthropological kind of perception of kin--a genealogy. I intended to do so with the other boys but did not have time. C. was able to trace links to 84 individuals, most of whom he named. He also indicated their place of residence, and in some cases their age. Most live in the Azores, though some are in California and Massachusetts. This session on his genealogy also provided an example of the difficulty of separating home and school influence: C. had previously drawn a family tree as a class project. This project may have helped C. codify his knowledge of his kin relations, but on the basis of my fieldwork in the Azores and the detailed asides C. made about individual relatives, I believe that competence in kinship knowledge was a parental expectation. Here is the passage from my notes describing the beginning of this session:

> As a lead-in to tracing C.'s genealogy I told him, "I want to start talking about family, but I'm not sure what the best way is. If I ask a kid, "Is family important?", he'd say "Yes," wouldn't you?" He said "Yes." "But different kids who say, "Yes," may have different feelings about their families, their relatives. For example, I grew up without knowing any of my uncles or cousins, because my parents moved to California, so I want some way to see how much different kids know about their relatives." At this point he broke in and said, "What you should do is a family tree." I said that was a good idea and asked if he'd ever done one and he said yes, in school. So I took out paper

and began by placing C. as ego at the bottom. He said he should go at the top and I said that I was doing it the anthropologist's way. He asked if I was an anthropologist, and how far back anthropologists could trace a person's roots. I explained that usually we were interested in knowing how far a person could track his own roots.

F. Personal Development

1. Girls

Because we recruited seventh graders through the schools and often interviewed them at the school, we had the opportunity to spend some time in the Junior High. One researcher also spent a day attending classes and observing during the last week of classes before summer break, and received tutoring in Portuguese once a week at the school. This section of the paper is based on these observations, as well as on conversations with the girls and with other Portuguese and non-Portuguese residents of Hillside.

First, it is important to note that the climate of the school varies from classroom to classroom, and from hallway to lunchroom. This may be especially true at Maney, because the teachers have a fair amount of autonomy within their classroom. The students' behavior and demeanor also varies from room to room. At the same time, there are some general aspects of the school that make Maney in some ways distinctive, although not unique, as a school.

One of the first things to strike the visitor, and one of the aspects of the school that students comment on most, is the rules. When changing classes, students must file through the hall on the right; this is enforced by teachers and administrators standing in the hallway. One ex-student, now a high school graduate, remembers the contrast between the junior high she transferred from, and Maney, where she was given detention for leaving the school building by the wrong door. At the time of the fieldwork, boys and girls were kept apart as much as possible. While they had classes together, they ate lunch at separate tables, had separate gyms, and had to play in separate halves of the playground.

Teachers have control within their own classroom; for example, they could decide whether the field worker would be allowed to observe in their classroom. However, they have much less control over other aspects of the school. One teacher prefaced a remark to the field worker about a student with, "If you have anymore pull with Guidance than I do..." When a member of the administration wanted to speak to a teacher, he would motion to the teacher from the hallway, and the teacher would join him immediately; it seemed to be assumed by both that such interruptions are permissable. Among staff outside the classrooms there appeared to be a lot of deference to those with greater authority. Experience taught that it was not allowable for the field worker, an individual of low rank, to interrupt someone with higher status to ask when he/she would be free. Staff, in such situations, simply wait until they see that the more powerful colleague is free and thus often miss connections with him/her.

From the students' point of view at least, the principal is the head disciplinarian. Observed interaction between him and students support this. Twice he was seen to open a conversation with a student by teasing the youth about being late or noisy, to which they reacted with a silent shrug and no eye contact.

Students' reactions to teachers and other personnel are as varied as the teachers themselves are. Miss H. is well-mannered; the students thin she's not cool because (as she explains it herself), "I don't talk at their level," swearing like some teachers do. Mrs. McG. is hard-boiled and sarcastic, alternating understanding and support for struggling students. Mrs. T. and Mr. D. both discussed individual students with the researcher in the presence of the students. Other teachers made their comments about students outside of their hearing.

When I asked what a good teacher is, one of the girls said, "Someone who talks softly." A bad teacher is someone who "screams a lot, is always sending people to the office, throwing books on the desk when they get mad, making people stay after, giving a lot of punishment."

The teachers' attitudes towards the students also vary. One teacher, who shows a real understanding of the students' families, also believes that some students just don't have what it takes to succeed in school. Another commented that after a while, you can tell which students come from good families, as compared to those with alcoholic parents or single parents. Teachers' knowledge of the Portuguese students in particular is varied. One commented that Portuguese girls are quiet and always smile when they pass you in the hall, other than that she knew nothing about them. Another was puzzled by a student who seemed to have trouble with assignments but never asked for help, believing that if a student doesn't have initiative, teachers can't learn what they know or don't know. For those Portuguese students who believe in respect and obedience, the expectation that they will take initiative within the school probably works against them.

The walls of the Guidance Office are covered with posters and signs about careers such as nursing, secretarial work, and skilled jobs. Most of the posters are old, both in style and in the dress of the people in them. There are no college posters, no glossy invitations to the new jobs in computer sciences. Asked if there is much emphasis on career planning in the school, a guidance counselor noted that things go in and out of fashion. It used to be that the Federal Government pushed students to go to college, but now they emphasize vocational and technical education. About one-eighth of Maney's students go on to the vocational high school in Hillside, in which there is insufficient room for others. This high school has a good placement record. The main high school, Hillside really has no placement services, although one of the largest insurance companies and similar giant firms like to recruit out of the school's business education program for their low-paying jobs. The counselor says that the girls leave these companies after a year or two to go on to something better, or to get married.

Within Maney, students are divided into clusters on the basis of test scores and meetings between their sixth grade teachers and the junior high guidance counselors. Teachers sometimes felt that clustering, along with large classes containing students who need individual attention or who "do not want to be in school," can work against students not in the top clusters.

At least three of the girls, all in different clusters, derive satisfaction from doing well and from learning. When two of the girls were asked to group their peers along some dimension, both did so in terms of "smartness," as well as "sociableness," helpfulness, and their maturity. How smart a peer is does not relate to other dimensions or to friendship groupings. If there are other reasons why students learn, besides pressure from teachers, one student replied "I like to learn." In contrast, another girl is counting the days until school is over for the year. The students' attitudes towards school is not tied to the cluster they are placed in.

It is generally believed that the Portuguese are not heavily involved in their children's school careers. The importance of the family unit and the strategy of employment for as many family members as possible, as soon as possible, are offered as explanations. Also, it is pointed out that in the Azores (before the revolution of 1974), there was very little education for children, and what existed was controlled by Lisbon and did not involve the Azorean population in its own educational growth. Therefore, parents in the Azores had nothing to do with the schools. Finally, parents in this country cannot make parent meetings and other school events because one or both are often at work and/or needed at home.

However, the parents of these four girls are definitely interested in their daughter's progress in school. One girl discusses homework grades with her mother; another does her homework regularly under her mother's supervision; a third plans her courses according to what her parents think she should take. These families may be unusual; their greater interest in school may be why they welcomed their daughter's involvement in the project. Alternatively, the economic pressures that affect attitudes towards school may not be strong at the junior high level. Perhaps also we need to expand what we mean by "parental involvement" in the educational process.

For these girls, growing up means more autonomy as well as more responsibility. In the Portuguese community, girls are restricted. They have more responsibility around the house than boys do. As adolescents, they are closely watched. Their "respectability" is a reflection on their family. In the Azores a generation ago girls were chaperoned. While the Azores are less restrictive now, the same lack of trust, or "confianca", continues in this country, according to some of the adults in the community.

As noted earlier, the lives of girls and boys differ, at least from puberty on. Their activities differ; girls spend more time cleaning and watching young children, while boys are freer to play and to do so at greater distances from the house. The greater restrictions on girls seem to continue into middle adolescence. Within the family, there are role differences between husband and wife, although the women often are employed and seem to have a voice in decision-making. One grandmother in the community commented, "A good husband does what his wife tells him." Other community members point out the frequency of wife-abuse and the difficulties and shame women encounter if they separate from their husbands.

Some of the girls feel that at age twelve they are regarded by adults as more responsible. They also see themselves as more mature than they were at age eight. By age fifteen they expect to have more autonomy (for example, to be able to stay out later), and also to have to do certain things around the house because they will be learning about getting married. This expectation for greater autonomy seems to contradict the statements of adults about the restrictions put on adolescent girls. Either the girls' expectations are unrealistic, or their families are different from others, or the community is changing; perhaps a little of each.

When asked when they would be "grown-up", two of the girls said around age 20 or 21, about the same age they expect to marry. One girl commented that she would know she was grown up because she would have to do things herself, her parents wouldn't be by her side to guide her. Both of these girls also expect to combine marriage and work and that their lives will be like their mothers'. They both talk also of continuing their education after high school, but the accuracy of their understanding of what college is like and the kind of training it offers varies considerably.

2. Boys

School Learning

My observations at the school were more limited than Nancy Marshall's. My impressions agree with hers as reported in her section on the girls. I was struck by the dreariness, regimentation (with its implicit assumption that without strict control students would bring anarchy to the school), and poor facilities (e.g., the playground). I was very favorably impressed with the guidance counselor's style of interaction with students. He maintains a light tone without being flippant, shows concern, even compassion, without being intrusive. He advises without giving directives. Students appeared to genuinely like and respect him.

Physical Conditions. On several occasions and at his own initiative C. complained about the old and shabby conditions of the school. On two of these occasions I felt that he had been thinking about the topic before our meeting, that bringing these things to my attention was a major part of C.'s "agenda" for his sessions with me. I think that this was his interpretation of what I had meant when I said we wanted to know what seventh graders think so that schools can be made better, a statement I made at our first meeting but not subsequently. Here are his remarks:

> The school should be more modern: "Ours is like the 1950's. It should have carpeting, air conditioning, electronic....computers. The bell system sounds stupid....They don't work well, time is always off....Science rooms look primitive inside and outside looks primitive....There should be stricter laws for vandalism. Not just in school, everywhere. Down Canada everything is clean, even the subway. Can't write on the wall there!....The library should be bigger, [and have] better books. The chairs are breaking. Hillside library is good. At school everything is broken. I'm always taping books....I'm a library aide. Library is too small for the school."

> Several weeks later, I asked C., "Why is school condition important?" "It gives a different feeling, it feels better if school is modern. Have you seen the lunch room? It's bad. Paint is falling. Lead paint is always falling in our food." (Are you sure it's lead? I thought they don't have that in schools anymore.) "It's lead -- other paint doesn't fall like that. It always gets in our food and it's bad for health." He explained that the lunch room is under the gym and so paint gets shaken off the ceiling. I asked if the teachers knew. He said that he and others at the table complain. "I told the Vice Principal about it and he said, Not much I can do about it." [C. asked me if A. who is also at his lunch table, hadn't told me about the paint; he had not.]

Also, see B.'s description of his schools in Portugal in the next subsection. The poorer of his schools, the one with the worst physical conditions, was also the one where he said he learned the most.

Rules and Discipline. Asked to compare Maney to his elementary school, A. said that at Maney "You have to walk on the right." B. explained that at lunch they eat with their home room and each one has an assigned seat:

> "Teachers know who messes up the table and make you clean up. The table next to ours keeps throwing their food back onto ours and I clean it up. I used to do this. Now I just throw it on to the next table" [Why don't you throw it back to those who threw it?] "They're bigger than me. . . The lunch room looks like a jail. It's ugly. They should modernize."

As noted above, C. tends to exaggerate the restrictions, the jail-like atmosphere. Indeed, he also thinks that students should be able to go home early if they want to, instead of filling their day with electives and that, "You shouldn't need a reason to go to the library, you should be able to whenever you want. Just to get away. Study [hall] is too noisy."

The two fieldworkers, to some extent, had common perceptions. Maney is not a "rough" school: there are no police in the halls, no violence. But the principal does project something of the image of a cop or prison warden.

406

On several occasions A. canceled our interview because he had detention. Another time he is waiting to meet his cousin at 3:00 p.m. because the cousin has detention. Our tour of the school we pass the room where kids are being kept after school, and I ask why they are there. "For not doing good in their work."

Talking to A. and X., I asked about discipline in school, mentioning that in California it is legal to hit kids in school. They did not think this was a good idea: it wouldn't change anything. They talked about authoritarian teachers; the vice principal and a science teacher, both of whom they found unreasonable. The science teacher comes into the boys' bathroom and shuts the window, telling them to leave it shut, without giving any explanation. The boys told me that they opened the window because it smells bad and is hot in the bathroom. I suggested that if this happened during the winter, perhaps the teacher was concerned about the heating expense. But they said these incidents were recent, during spring.

The teacher in question came through the office where we were talking. As he left, after they pointed him out to me, X. made a loud remark after him, something to the effect that Mr.________ thinks he's a big shot. Soon after, the janitor asked if any of the counselors were there, and that if I did not have a key we had to leave. I explained that Mr. P. had told me to simply shut the door when I left. The janitor said that he was responsible and was closing up and we could not stay. After he left the boys commented, "That janitor is always mean." A week later A. and I had the same problem with the janitor. A. commented to me that the janitor was really mean to everyone. He also added, apparently thinking of various unreasonable adults in the school, that the principal was even worse than the vice principal.

In the card sorting (see section below), A. placed himself with the "trouble makers" and "jokers". He manages to run afoul of school rules rather frequently. I think he uses these labels with some irony to indicate his awareness of how he and his friends are viewed by others. Neither A. nor X. are "bad kids". They do not brag of any exploits nor express any general contempt for rules or teachers. A., it should be recalled, is a choir boy and most of his recreation is spent playing and practicing baseball. A., A.'s cousin, and X. get along well with the counselor. Given their discipline problems it may appear self-serving for them to claim that authority is unfairly exercised. Their concrete examples, however, certainly support their view. Unfortunately, I do not have any more information on A.'s "problems", on teachers' judgements of his behavior, or on the specifics of his detention.

A.'s perceptions of rule enforcement receive some confirmation from C. C. receives better grades than A., and has not been punished for rule breaking, but he too sees an arbitrary aspect in the application of rules and characterizes some teachers as unfair.

> I ask C. what he thinks of discipline in school. He says, "Some things you're the one who suffers so you shouldn't also be punished." As example he gave forgetting your homework. "You're the one who fails. It's your problem." (At a later interview he again said you should not be punished if the act hurts only you. His example was sleeping in class.) "It's ok to discipline for things like making noise, throwing airplanes." (Is it ok to hit students?) "Yes. Some teachers couldn't hit kids, couldn't get near them [because of the kids' size]." Asked for a list of other things that are punishable, he listed: spit balls and smoking. Here he said that teachers shouldn't smoke either. "Teachers smoke in the teachers' room; when the door opens smoke comes out. The janitor walks around smoking. If there is a rule against smoking it should apply to everyone. Smoking is like a disease." (Where do kids smoke?) "In the yard, lockers, bathroom." Several weeks later C. again said that the rules should apply equally to everyone. Teachers shouldn't smoke, chew gum, eat in class, but they do.
>
> (Kinds of punishment?) "Suspension is not a good punishment. It's easy for them. Kids love it." Here he interjected, apparently thinking back to smoking in school that there should be smoke detectors, that they would go off for one match. I think that he meant so as to catch smokers, not for fire prevention. (What about detention?) "Kids should have something to do in detention, not homework--that's not punishment. [If they do homework in detention,] they just have time free at home. Something they don't like to do, like math. Now detention is a holiday, a party. They don't mind." (When is it ok to hit?): For fighting, talking back, swearing at teacher, skipping class, hooking school; here he told me that "Friday is national hook day". "Hitting isn't a punishment. It's better than suspension." (Who should punish if you do wrong in school?) "In school it should be teachers or principal who do the punishing. School is messed up, a barrell of laughs. Just do homework [the last referring to detention]: (Should teachers act like parents?) "No, if they did, kids wouldn't listen."

Here are B.'s descriptions of conditions and discipline in his schools in Portugal:

> I ask if B. finds school work here easier than in Portugal, if the material had already been covered in Portugal. He says, emphatically, "Yes. What they had in math when I came [5th grade], I had already in first grade. Problems like "If one man has a car and another ..."

> They had to bring their own chairs. It was a private school. He also said something about the condition of the bathroom or lack of bathroom, and a pack of dogs outside where they played. Again referring to corporal [What was school like there?): "School in Portugal, the teachers hit you with rulers." There were forty students in his class.] punishment, he said that if the "bad gang" from Maney were in Portugal they would ... [He left implicit the conclusion, but it was clear he meant "They would straighten up pretty quickly".] "The schools have exams [provas] but not here. Here you just pass." They cover more material there.
>
> From here he went on to say that cars are bigger in America and that in Portugal kids can buy beer and wine when they're young. (I query if this is for themselves or their parents, and if kids drink a lot.) He doesn't directly answer, instead saying that the problem is kids smoking a lot.
>
> At a later interview I ask him more about the school where he brought his own bench. He said yes, they brought benches, sometimes tables, even chalk sometimes, and paid for their own books. There was one professor for forty students and they were in school fom 7:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. It was a private school. They went home for lunch, for him, one kilometer. I commented that it was a long school day. He said it was. He then said that how long they stayed varied. Apparently they stayed until everyone completed the lesson.

Attitudes toward School. A. and his friend X. both made comments about not liking school. In talking about "age", they saw one important difference between being an adult, and being a child as not having to go to school. I showed them a magazine article about two brothers, thirteen and fourteen years old, who returned with their parents to the Azores after ten years in Rhode Island. The brothers did not attend school in the Azores. X. first responded to the article by saying that was great, not being in school. But a moment later both he and A. said it wasn't good, because now those boys wouldn't learn anything.

As stated earlier, C. is the most academic of the three. He plans to go to college and wants to study languages, knowledge of which he views as helping to get good jobs. C. always does his homework before playing and preferred meeting with me on Monday afternoons because on that day he had a study period and so could have his homework done before I came. He never expressed any negative attitude toward education, although he was critical of school conditions and teacher practices.

B. is not as oriented to school as C. but he does describe the schools he has attended in terms of how much he learned at each. He recognizes the value of education but considers high school sufficient to his career plans. He plans to return to Portugal, where twelve years of schooling would represent much higher academic achievement than in the U.S.

Good and Bad Students. Talking with A. and X., I asked why some kids didn't do well in school, why some got in trouble. X. replied,

> "Because their parents treat them bad, hit them". I asked him to explain and he said that when they were treated bad at home, then they caused trouble at school.
>
> The following week I asked A. what made a good student and he said, "If they like school". He had no answer when asked why some were bad students. I asked if he agreed with X.'s idea that kids got in trouble in school because their parents mistreat them. He said yes [but this was a poorly phrased question, since it put him in the position of agreeing or disagreeing with his friend]. Here it should also be recalled that in distinguishing school groupings [see below] A. said that the "big ones" were not all better students, that not all teachers liked them, that they got bad grades for talking. So here "good student" = teacher likes = good conduct. On the other hand, he had said that detention was for "not doing good in work".

B's remarks were briefer: "Good student" = "Those who want to work". I asked if it made any difference what the teacher was like. He said, "No, doing good was up to the student." He said teachers gave fair grades.

C. had relatively much to say. His first reply to "Define a good student" was, "Tells jokes". This fits nicely with A.'s comment about the "big ones", the group to which he assigned C., as doing all the talking and laughing. C. continued, "When a substitute comes, students shouldn't make trouble. Some substitutes don't know what work we're doing, and students tell them we don't have to do that work." He said that he sometimes jokes with substitutes. "Some know that kids need a break. Sometimes they are too strict."

It was also in this conversation that he stated, as reported above, that "You can have good marks, but brag too much. No one likes students who brag about grades." He cited the example of a girl who bragged about her grades and would not let others copy her exams. [Perhaps the latter was the major source of her unpopularity.] To my question he said that no one tries to copy his exams because he is not always right. "That girl gets 100 every time. Sometimes the teacher doesn't even correct her paper---just looks at it and writes '100'.

Asked to explain why she does so well, he replied, "Her mother helps her with her homework." (Are you a good student?) "In between." (But you're on the Honor Roll.) "I get mixed grades, B's, some C's. Also mixed in comportment."

C., like A., is in an "above average" track and is doing better this year than he did in elementary school. For the school as a whole, C. is certainly a "good student". But judging himself against the other members of his classes he is "in between", that is, not at the top of his class but better than others. Also operating here in his self-characterization is an attempt not to appear to be bragging; to do well, or take too much pride in academic accomplishment, is in C.'s view to be unpopular with peers. Still, of the three boys, only C. attached importance to academic achievement. Where "baseball player" was presented by A. as a component of his self-image, "good student" was similarly important to C.

When asked to define, "bad student", C. said it is one who does the things he said: make trouble for substitutes. Also, "students shouldn't tell stories when they don't do homework." (Like?) "Cat got it. It was in my pants when they were washed." (Do teachers believe such stories?) "No. The English teacher won't accept any excuse. No homework, get a zero." (Is this fair?) "Yes, if you don't do the work, it's your problem. But you shouldn't have to explain anything."

(Why do some kids get in trouble, cause trouble in school?) "Parents aren't strict enough. They don't tell kids 'If you do so and so in school....' I don't mean beaten so they're killed. Parents don't mind, don't care." Here we have an echo of C.'s mother's remarks about parental responsibility. C.'s view also stands in sharp contrast to X.'s identification of abusive parents as the cause of child misbehavior.

Accounting for Own School Success. In B.'s comments, teacher expectation emerges as the most important determinant of student performance. He said that he learned more in his last school in Portugal than in earlier schools there or in American schools. This school was the poorest in facilities and student/teacher ratio, but "the teacher made sure students learned." The curriculum was also more demanding: they had many more subjects each year.

C. also cited teacher demands as positively influencing how much he learns. Asked why he was doing better in school this year, he said, "In the other school they didn't pay attention if you failed. At Maney there's more pressure, it's harder. In elementary school even if you're failing they pass you. They cared but didn't make a big deal about it. Now there's a lot more homework." But he also relates his success/failure to teacher fairness, teacher style, and his innate skills.

We talked about why he gets the grades he does. This last semester was his best. He doesn't do well in history because "The teacher talks too much". Asked if he means he gets bored, he said yes, but also that there was too much material for him to take in. Then he related the story of another teacher "playing a trick" on the history teacher. When she went into the hall, the other teacher told the class to lock the door and not let her back in. She got angry and told him she would never speak to him again. He replied, "It would be hard for you not to talk."

He said that he used to have more trouble in school. "It's hard for me to remember things. I have trouble, used to, when the teacher would say something one day and expect us to remember it four months later." He also had trouble with spelling in the fourth and fifth grades, but is better now because "I read more". Also, "In the fourth grade I had trouble with math. The teacher didn't explain anything. She was an old hag, really didn't like me." (At this elementary school they had different teachers for different subjects, as at the junior high.) C. does well in his Portuguese class because "It is easy for me. Some kids have trouble with it," even though almost all are from Portuguese homes.

Good and Bad Teachers. The boys commented as follows:

A. answers my questions by saying that all his teachers are "all right". (Does age matter?) "Most are not old. My gym teacher is, but that doesn't matter. . . . The drawing teacher talks too much, is boring."

B. characterizes bad teachers with the example of the art teacher, who is very strict: "He gives detention for gum chewing, the tiniest amount of gum." Another teacher he doesn't like he described as "acting like a kid, thinks he's the best." One day in the lunchroom this teacher pushed B. "He shouldn't do that. If he ever does it again I'll have my brother complain to the principal." (Is there any difference or do you prefer men or women teachers?) He prefers women teachers "they talk more to you, are more like friends." His favorite class is social studies, not because of the teacher, but because the subject is the most interesting.

Fairness and friendliness are C.'s criteria for evaluating teachers. Additionally, he cited "good teaching" as distinguishing good and bad teachers, the only one of the three to do so. C.'s least liked course is English grammar because "The teacher is unfair. You make one mistake and get a zero. He gives zeros that aren't earned. You should get the zero you deserve; don't earn it, why get it?" In this class they correct each other's papers. One student missed some errors on another's paper and the teacher took those missed points off the grader's test. C. cited this as an example of the teacher's unfairness. This teacher also "tells lots of stories" (I think this was said with the sense that he wastes our time). This teacher, or perhaps another that C. considers bad, "didn't answer my questions. I'm not afraid to ask, but he didn't answer what I asked, so now I don't ask anything."

Here are his definitions of good and bad teachers: the good teacher doesn't always think about school. Not like one who saw C. after school and only asked if he had done his homework yet. There are teachers who talk about other things. (On another occasion C. described Mr. B________ as a "good teacher. He knows how to teach. Has a sense of humor. He is a real fair guy. He's not always concerned about school"). Good teachers are fair. "Doesn't let kids fool around. Not too strict, but doesn't let everything go by. Some teachers are too fair, fair

> too much, let everything go by. . . The kids act up, no one works, so you can't learn." The bad teacher: "unfair, doesn't teach good, doesn't do it right."

Family and School. I regret that space limitations prevent fuller discussion of this topic. It is especially important since much of the current explanation of Portuguese-American school failure cites negative parental attitudes toward education as a major factor limiting student school success. Such explanations exaggerate the extent to which education is devalued by parents, and mischaracterize these attitudes where they do exist.

In the three families studied either the parents expressed explicit recognition of the importance of education for achieving social mobility, or older siblings were in fact pursuing higher education. I know many other Portuguese parents in New England and in the Azores----some middle class, some peasants, some industrial workers; some of little formal education, others with university degrees----all of whom affirm the intrinsic and utilitarian value of education. In fact, in Portugal, a university education is one of the markers of elite status, and deference and respect are accorded to persons of higher educational accomplishment. In the Azores, until recent decades and to some extent even today, educational opportunities beyond primary school were very limited. But even for the poor, education provided one "traditional" career opportunity: entry into a seminary could provide not only religious training but also an academically rigorous high school education. Seminary education in turn could lead to the priesthood (the expected outcome) or preparation sufficient to pass the entry exam for the universities.

If in New England there is a high drop-out rate for Portuguese-Americans, it is also true that there are Portuguese holders of advanced degrees. These latter may be numerically exceptional (though one wonders how different from other ethnic groups in industrial New England), but they do not come from obviously exceptional backgrounds. There are Azorean immigrants who have earned PH.Ds at Ivy League universities, immigrants whose parents were peasant farmers or agricultural laborers in the islands, and mill workers and janitors in Massachusetts. But this sort of anecdotal argument soon takes on the unconvincing tone of the inventories of accomplishments that constitute the bulk of "ethnic pride" texts.

The point is that there is no direct relation between educational accomplishment and "values". An immediate and obvious complication is that a structure of opportunity lies between motivation and outcome. Educational opportunity is much greater in the U.S. than in Portugal, but it is by no means unlimited. Our "inexpensive" public education is not totally free, and it is an odd sort of accounting that totally reckons only the slight expense of tuition and not to larger costs of subsistence and lost earning potential by students. Rational calculation, not ignorance, leads many parents not to encourage their children in unrealizable ambitions.

Another complication is found in the plurality of "values". It is not a matter of being either for or against education but of choosing among alternative goals, each of which involves distructive combinations of costs and benefits, many of which may be symbolic and social and not reducible to a material medium of exchange. Some educators, quick to attribute base motives to parents perceive parental actions to be motivated by envy or conservatism and consequently stifling of children's advancement. The same actions can be understood as arising from parental commitment to equal treatment for all the family's children, a commitment to allocate family resources so that the whole family benefits. Alternatively, preserving the family 'estate' may take precedence over both egalitarian treatment and over individual mobility.

Consideration of these alternative "values" raises two sorts of questions. By what standard is individual educational success preferable to these other outcomes? Given a goal of family security and mobility for all family members together, which is the more rational course: that advocated by educators and followed by some families or the alternative of early entry into the labor force and the pooling of family incomes, property ownership, and entrepreneurship? These questions call for an examination of "values" and for empirical research. They also direct attention to the ideology through which only individual education is presented as a desirable and rational means of social achievement, through which all else appears as ignorance and "materialism."

To return to Hillside twelve-year-olds, my findings for the boys are similar to Nancy Marshall's for the girls: these parents are interested in their children's school performance. Here are expressions of this interest from my fieldnotes:

> At our first meeting, B.'s brother says that he will be happy to help any way he can, that he doesn't know much about education, but does to all the school meetings.
>
> At the first interview, C.'s mother said to me, in C.'s presence, "C. is a good boy, he gets good marks."
>
> C. himself sees parents as an important influence in school success. (What would happen if you did wrong in school?) "My parents would get real mad. The whole world would be mad at me."

(After asking if school conditions are important, I asked if home is important?) "Parents don't tell them what to do so children go off and do wrong. Students should have responsibility, not washing floors, but take care of something, like a bike, [Note: it was C. whose bike was stolen.] If parents put pressure on them, they do well. If not, they won't think about what teachers say." (Does it help if parents show pride in your accomplishment?) "Yes". (Should they punish you if you do poorly in school?) "Depends if you're doing your best."

"Parents shouldn't do homework, should show how to do it." (Do you get help with your homework?) "My mother used to."

School Groupings

For information on categories and groups of students, as perceived by the three boys, I had them complete a card sorting task as used by the other researcher with her informants. The procedure consisted of three steps: (1) I asked each boy to list all the kids he knew by name, not just friends. I wrote each name on a card. (2) I then asked him to sort the cards into piles, so that the kids in each pile had something in common and were different from those in other piles. (This instruction varied for each of the boys.) (3) I asked them to label or explain the groupings.

A: He listed 22 names. The first 17 were in his class. At 18 he asked if he could include kids who weren't in his class. The last five were all in his school. A. listed both girls and boys without asking (as B. and C. did), if he should include girls. A. listed first 7 boys, then 9 girls, then 6 boys. When I asked him to sort them into piles by similarity he said that he didn't know what to do. I told him that when I was in high school we had names for kinds of kids: e.g., those who went to lots of parties were "socies". He picked up on this right away and said he knew now what I meant and started sorting the cards without hesitation. Twelve of the cards were placed in one pile. These were boys #2, 3 and 6 and all of the girls. Boy #6 is my informant C. A. said that these were what I said we had in my school. I asked what he called them and he said no real name, maybe "big ones." "They do all the talking, laughing." To my question he said "Yes, some of them think they're better than others." I thought these were also the better students, but on questioning him he said that no, "not all the teachers like them. They get bad conduct for talking." Boys #4, 5 and 7 were labelled "trouble makers." Boys #1, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 he called "jokers." The fact that these sortings follow closely the order in which he remembered the names confirms that these are operative categories for him and not simply a response to the demands of an abstract exercise. I asked him which group he belonged in and he said that he went with the last two groups.

B: He listed 33 names, adding the last one during the sorting task. He began with the names of two boys and then asked "Can it be girls, too?" He then listed four girls. After this he named both girls and boys, usually two or three of the same gender together, but he did not segregate all the girls as A. did. In all he named 17 girls. After the 10th name he said that was all the 7th graders. I said he could list others he knew at school. At name 26 he said that was all he knew at school and the last 6 were from outside his school. (#33 added later is probably at Maney.)

I asked him to sort them into groups by similarities. He did not have any response so I repeated, asking if there wasn't something any of them had in common. He said there was and sorted through the stack, removed two cards and put them on the table (boys #7 and 8). Asked what they had in common, he answered in English: "They are stupid guys." I asked if he meant stupid in intelligence and he said, "In all ways, intelligence, the way they act, they go around doing kung fu." (This answer, as was usual, was in Pourtuguese). I asked what word he used in

Portuguese for stupid guys and he responded "parvos", a word that can mean stupid but also "nitwit" or "ass". Asked if he couldn't sort the cards some other way, he didn't see anything to do so I asked if some of the kids weren't friends. He said, "They are all friends" and all "good guys" ("bons rapazes"). I pressed, asking if there weren't groups within the group, any who were closer friends. So he sorted the cards into 12 piles, going through the pack of cards, occasionally rearranging until he had them all sorted.

(1) boys 1, 2, 22, 27 and B. himself
(2) boys 13 & 33
(3) girls 19 & 20
(4) girls 28 & 29
(5) girls 4, 5, 6, 12 & 16
(6) girls 9 & 10
(7) boys 14, 18, 32
(8) girls 3 & 30
(9) boys 17 & 23
(10) goys 7, 8, 24, 25 & 31
(11) girls 11, 15 & 26
(12) girl 21 (left over at end of sorting)

This is a sorting into friendship cliques, and not social categories. One obvious point that can be made is that all the cliques are same-gender. The largest cliques have 5 members. One of these is B.'s own group and its size may relect his better knowledge of its members. Half of the groups have only two members.

I asked if any of these groups were close to each other and he said his group (1) and group (3); and his (1) and (9). Again, this may reflect his knowledge of his own associations rather than the actual isolation of the other cliques. It is interesting that his group of boys has a group of girls as close associates. I asked if the others in group (11) were "stupid guys" like boys # 7 & 8 and he said, "No, they're all good guys."

C: He listed 36 names. After 16 he stopped to think before continuing and at number 21 commented that this was "hard to do." After #19 he asked "Just boys?", then named four more boys and then girls #25 through 36. He then stopped but said that he could think of more if he had to.

C. did not know what I meant by sorting the names. I asked if there weren't some who are more like each other than like any others. He said, "I don't know . . . You mean like put my friends in one pile?" I said that was one way, to sort them any way he could. "That's easy then" he said and picked out boys #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15, 19, 20, 21 as "my friends" (#8 is my informant A.) I asked if any others "hung out together" and he put girls #30, 31, 32 together. I repeated the question and he sorted out three more cliques: boys #10, 13, 14; 22 & 24; and girls #25, 26, 27. To my question, he said that boys and girls don't hang out together.

He said that he could sort the cards by homeroom but that would be hard. I asked if there was any other way: "Yes, smart."

Boy #1 is really smart.

Boys #2, 10,11, 23 and girls #33, 35, 36 were also selected as "smart". He commented that #10 "is good at everything, even school." (Note: my separation in listing girls and boys and the arrangement in numerical order is to simplify comparison with C.'s original listing of names. He did not sort the cards in this order).

Asked if the ones he had left out were all the same he said "No, some are . . . not too bright": boys #6, 7, 15.

Asked where he would place himself "Don't know. For sure with [#1] and [#2] -- I remember they used to be smarter than me."

C.'s listing of his "friends" includes boys from the "smart", "not too bright", and remaining group.

A week before this sorting task, C. talked about school and some of his comments provide additional evidence of his perceptions of the divisions among students. C. asked how many boys I was talking to and who they were. I told him A. (who had already said he know from C. that C. was participating), and I named B.'s first name saying he was in the bilingual program. C. said "Then I wouldn't know him." Talking about age (see below, Personal Development), C. said that "8th and 9th graders treat us like trash . . . One guy thinks he's cool, came by and pushed me against the wall."

The week before he had told me about a girl who was a good student but not liked because she bragged about her grades. I asked if she was the only one like that. He said there was another one, a boy, who was "smart in school, dumb in other things." Asked to explain he said "Like he goes out in the playground and dances, singing 'Singing in the Rain.' He doesn't brag, but its just his personality. No one likes him." He later added that this boy is in the Chorus." He sings soprano! . . . When he's 14 that will change." [He said "soprano deprecatingly, but not snickering]. This boy was not included when C. listed names for the card sorting.

Questioning him further about the "smart girl", I asked why she wasn't liked. He said that she wouldn't let kids copy her exams. So the others don't like her and "start rumors about her." They "say things like she goes out with someone." Asked how he knows no one liked her, he said, "She's always by herself." (What about other kids, talking to each other?). "It's like little clubs", and he explained that even though they have assigned seats at lunch, when they're done eating they go outside and meet with their friends. He also tells me that kids were friendly to this girl when she brought her telescope to school, but that was just so they could look through it.

To summarize, C. listed the most names, A. the least. 41% of A.'s cards were girls, 52% of B.'s, and 33% of C.'s. A. listed girls without asking if they should be included; both B. and C. asked. A. and C. listed girls in a group, but B.'s listing was not ordered by gender. Only A.'s listing conformed to his subsequent sorting and he most readily categorized the names by social type. A.'s types were: "big ones", "jokers", and "troublemakers", and he placed himself with the last two. B. initially identified two boys as "stupid guys" and subsequently sorted his cards into a dozen small cliques. C. began by sorting out his friends and subsequently sorted kids as "smart" and "not bright", and placing himself with the "smart" kids.

B.'s "stupid guys" were identified as such not only by intelligence, but perhaps more importantly, by their comportment: they acted silly. This is similar to C.'s example of a boy who was "smart in school, dumb in other things", academically bright but nonconforming in his behavior, an exhibitionist. B.'s cliques and C.'s list of friends cross-cut the smart/dumb sorting. A. and C. are in the same homeroom and have several classes together, yet there is only partial overlap in the listing of names. At most half of A.'s list appears on C.'s; less than 1/3 of C.'s on A.'s. (The count is only approximate because they did not always provide last names. These figures represent maximum overlap, counting all similar first names.)

One other item relating to groupings. When A.'s friend X. was talking with us, at one point A. and X. laughed and X. said there were "gangs" at Maney. The following week I asked A. if it is true that there are gangs. He said, "Yeh, a mafia . . . No, just a group, not really gangs."

Out-of-School Learning

All thee boys at times cited newspapers or television as sources of information.

> A. told of visiting relatives in Lowell, so I asked if he had been to the new National Park there. He didn't know what I meant until I mentioned the canals, and then he said he hadn't been but had read about it in the newspaper.
>
> B., in talking about aged immigrants, cited a story in the newspaper on that topic.
>
> C. listed watching tv news among his activities. In the evening while I was talking to his mother in their kitchen he turned up the tv to listen to the news. At one point his mother mentioned the declining economy and how hard things are for them. C. interjected that even Carter was no longer a millionaire; this had been a news item ten days earlier. C. critically examines what he hears on television. For example, on his own he brought up a program he had seen on tv the morning of the interview. The program was on "Channel 25, the religious station, where they're always praying." This morning "they had a board showing the number of Russian planes." I interrupted to ask what that had to do with religion. He said they were praying to be stronger than Russia. But, and this was his point, he thought such things weren't part of religion.
>
> A. and X., after commenting that leaving school wasn't good because boys wouldn't learn anything, were asked if kids only learn in school or if they learn anything outside of school. They said mainly in school. Asked if they learned anything from their fathers they said, "Yes, you learn how to do things" and X. said, "You learn from other people things like how to work on cars."

Goals and Aspirations

When asked about his future plans, A. said he didn't know. B. said that he would go to high school and "that will be it for education." Then he'll return to Portugal where he'll get a job as an interpreter for airlines. He likes this because he'll be able to travel and have good money. Asked if he knew someone who had this kind of job, he said no, "just an idea in my head." On one occasion C. said he would go to college to study languages. At a later interview, when asked not about educational plans specifically, but about the future in general and about jobs, he said that he'd probably first work at a local discount department store because it's close. [It is a block from his home.] It doesn't pay much, but it's ok first experience. He can start at age fourteen. If his father lets him, he might work farther away, make extra money and gain experience. He called working, "another responsibility", referring to his opinion that it is good for children to be given responsibility.

Asked what kind of work he'd do C. said "packing bags, cleaning out, work in the record department." Jobs he would not want: "to be a janitor, no toilets. I would sweep." He added that he'd also work as a delivery boy. Then he said, "I'd like to work with the Portuguese, if they need it, be helpful." I mentioned several service agencies for Portuguese in the neighborhood and he said that is what he meant.

Maturity

In the sketches of the "personalities" of the three boys in Section III, I commented on their relative maturity. As mentioned there, many of C.'s comments relate to the theme of autonomy. Others of his remarks can be regarded as expressions of "cautiousness". It is at least plausible that C.'s outlook is derived from his parents' efforts to protect him from a dangerous world. Possibly his parents' restrictions on his activities have produced in C. feelings of dependence and impotence, that lead C. to emphasize and overvalue independence and choice. We might also argue that his parents behavior has resulted in social isolation for C. and that by positively valuing autonomy C. is able to cast this condition in a favorable light.

Here are paraphrases of C.'s statements reflecting his concern for autonomy:

Courses should be voluntary.
School shouldn't punish you when you're the only victim.
Team sports are too regimented.
I hope that when other schools close, the students won't come to Maney because then I would have to share a locker.
I do not want siblings at home because then I would have to share my room.
If someone pushed me I wouldn't let it go by.
Everyone should have the religion they want.
When his mother spoke of his staying in the house after school, he made an aside that he goes out and plays with friends.
The story of being locked in a chickencoop by babysitter.

His outlook of cautiousness is suggested in the following considered remarks:

His warning his father not to go out after burglars.
He said he doesn't like gum, just the baseball cards he collects, because it has sugar and sugar is bad for your health.
He reported to me and complained at school about paint falling from the ceiling of the cafeteria, because it is lead paint and makes you sick.

To get some information on the boys' perceptions of their development I asked them to say what they thought different "ages" are. As usual, beyond the requested information, only C. provided any statements revealing his perceptions. With the elicited age categorizations are also included other statements concerning age that they made:

> A., together with his friend X., gave the following ages: child, through 12 years; teen, beginning at 13, late teen beginning at 15; young adult 20 to 25. Asked if they thought that they were treated appropriately for their age, they said yes. I gave the example of going into a store. X. thought people distrusted them. A. did not agree. They both thought an important difference of being an adult would be not having to go to school.

> Trying to elicit B.'s age categories, I explained that I was trying to see what he thought of being twelve, and said that when I was young I thought nineteen was old and that now that seemed young to me. I said, "So there are babies, and then . . . what, children, adults?" but instead of filling in categories, he evaluated what it was like to be his age. "On one hand, I'd like to be a man. Then I could go to cafes, go to Portugal, buy wine, have no school. But kids can play!" I asked what age being a "man" begins and he said, with some hesitation, "Twenty. That's when you can buy wine, cigarettes." I reminded him that the other day he had said that in Portugal kids can buy these things. He said he was now speaking of here.

Asked if he missed being a child, he said "Yes." But he also said that this wasn't anything he thought about, being too young or old, and that his friends didn't talk about it. (Beyond legal things like buying wine, do people treat you your age, or treat you like you are younger? What about teachers?) "Yes, teachers here treat us like children." [But then the extended examples he gave were not clear to me.] He said that teachers tell kids to be quiet. He also said that one teacher is that way: he patronizes or acts like a peer. When some kids were fighting, the teacher stood by and let them fight (Americans don't know how to fight), and then finally broke it up.

B. pointed out an old man who passed by in front of the house and told me that he was Portuguese and was 94 and had only stopped working last year. The Portuguese newspaper had an article about him and other immigrants who are over 100.

I posed the same question to C. that I did to B., but in C.'s case it did elicit age categories. To my "when I was young, nineteen seemed old", he said, "When I was six I thought I was big, grown up." He then gave this very finely graded list of ages: baby, preschool, low grades--that would be first through third; then fourth-sixth, the pre-teen ages ten to twelve. (And then?) Thirteen to fifteen low teen; sixteen to nineteen (Here he paused and I prodded.) "You want me to keep going? 20-25, 25-30, 30-35." I stopped him and asked if he thought there was a difference between 25-30 and 30-35 and he said he didn't know. He then told me that when he was "little" he used to stay home alone and was scared. The doors didn't lock well and they were broken into once.

He said that first and second grade is an age to "fool around."

"I don't think much of birthdays anymore. And Christmas used to be a bigger thrill."

"Year used to take forever, now it goes fast."

(What about marriage? Do you plan to?) "Not now", with a laugh. (At what age?) "In my twenties."

Asked what he meant by "little kids", as in his comment in listing his activities that he liked "bugging little kids", he said he didn't mean "babies" but "first and second graders."

(Do people treat you your age? Do teachers treat kids younger or older than twelve? What about other people?) "Eighth and ninth graders treat us like trash. One guy thinks he's cool, came by and pushed me against a wall." (What will happen when the ninth graders to high school?) "They'll be back in kindergarten." (What about family, friends, relatives? How do they treat you?) "There is one old woman who--I know I'm short for my age--but she acts like I'm a baby. At her house you can't go anywhere alone, can't go up the stairs, won't let you go alone. She thinks you'll break something. She's so conceited."

As an aspect of Maturity, the boys' remarks concerning sexuality and dating are reported here; they could also be considered under "Peer Relationships". This area provided one of the strong contrasts among the boys. Neither A nor C expressed any interest or opinions about dating, while B. on several occasions discussed the topic and appears to have begun to orient himself to heterosexual relationships, if only in the form of "crushes".

> Asked about dating A., had no ideas about it, no reaction one way or the other. No one he knows dates, his friends are all male.
>
> C. complained about the physical condition of the school. I suggested painting a mural. He said that was a good idea and recalled a tv program in which the students had "painted a picture of a naked lady and put [the teacher's] wife's face on it. They didn't show the whole painting but you knew what it was." Cited above also is C.'s comment that a classmate who sang soprano would have his voice change when he is 14.
>
> I explain to B. about confidentiality of the study, asking if he knows what "confidentiality" means (I used the English word). He does not, so I tell him in Portuguese that anything he says "will stay between us", that I won't say to anyone that "B" told me this or that. He then said (in English) "Yeh, it's like if one guy likes a girl and another guy does too, you wouldn't tell him about the other."
>
> Even before the preceding exchange, just after his brother leaves us during our first meeting, B. asks if I'm married. [During the fieldwork, I related this question and his other inquiries about Nancy Marshall as expressing his interest in male-female relations. Now I wonder if B.'s parents were having problems and that this may have been his motive for asking if I was married].
>
> He asks if I will work with girls as well as boys. I explain that Nancy will work with the girls. I ask if he knows others who would be interested in participating. He says he thinks a girl is interested; he says this in a tone which indicates that she is special. I think he has a crush on her. He says her name is Y. He also suggests a second girl, Z. He doesn't know her last name but does know her phone number. The following week I asked if he had Y.'s phone number because Nancy had been unable to find it in the phone book. He said he knew, he had tried to find it once. At the next interview I told him that Nancy still had not reached Y. He then asked if Nancy were married. I said she wasn't and he asked, "Boyfriend?", using English. I answered that I didn't know Nancy well, that we had known each other only a few months from working together on this job.

G. Conclusions

1. Girls

How well these girls are doing in school seems to be a function of social class, sex, and ethnicity. Public education in this country is becoming more and more the domain of the children of poor and working class families, as a result of factors such as changing demographics. As the guidance counselor noted, there are fads in education. These fads are in part tied to the current needs of the economy for certain types of labor. Along with the fads, however, is the reality of fewer resources for public education in poorer communities such as Hillside. All this translates into reduced expectations for most of the students at Maney.

The girls are also faced with sex role definitions that type them as mothers. While these four girls all plan both to work and to raise their own children, the actual jobs available to women, plus prevalent attitudes about the relative importance of family and work for women, mean a further reduction in expectations and achievement for many girls, perhaps including these four.

Finally, ethnicity is significant in several ways. First, assumptions by school personnel about the Portuguese translate into school policy. For example, the school system refuses to consider Portuguese as a second language for Portuguese students and requires that they take a third language to graduate from the high school. Second, economic pressures on the Portuguese family (whose members are limited to low-paying jobs), and the high valuing of that unit by its members, necessitate an employment strategy for adolescent members that limits their educational opportunities. Third, cultural norms within the

Portuguese community for children's behavior within families, for the organization of social units, and for individual growth are sometimes in conflict with the school's norms (primarily middle-class and Anglo) for student behavior, for the organization of the school, and for individual growth.

2. Boys

(The comments that follow are also components of Section C-2, placed here because of their length, in essentially the form, although somewhat shortened, in which they were submitted. They deal with topics crucial to this project and to others that focus on basic processes in education.)

The major point I have tried to make in the preceding inventory of information about three boys is how different they are. I wish to demonstrate the non-existence of a "Portuguese" type. These three boys exhaust my sample of Portuguese twelve-year olds and they are not randomly selected. Any bias in the selection--such as their self-selection, their willingness to participate--should result in greater likelihood of similarity and so tend to increase the possibility of falsifying my claim for diversity.

It *is* certainly possible that commonalities might have been found if a larger number of boys had been interviewed. Perhaps some "modal" pattern would have emerged. But what then? Logically, at least two and possibly three of the boys would be exception to such a pattern. Yet they are "Portuguese," identify themselves as such, and--more importantly-- are so identified by their school.

Let us suppose that some "fit" between home climate and school climate has optimal educational outcome. Operating on this assumption, suppose a school conducts a survey and defines a statistically normative Portuguese Home Climate profile and designs a Portuguese component for a multicultural school. Let us now further imagine that the era of tight budgets and conservative political backlash is a bad dream and Manley Junior High follows the survey's recommendations. The school is expanded and compartmentalized, perhaps on the model of the bilingual program which in 1979-1980 occupied a basement classroom and an alcove by the stairs. In each compartment an ideal thirteen-variable climate is maintained for each of the school's ethnic groups. What happens to students like the ones I interviewed, the anomalous ones, when they fail to respond positively to the demands of the new "hidden curriculum?"

One response might be the following. All right, there is variation in home climate within ethnic categories. Some of these differences may be categorical, falling along lines of family income or generation of migration. If so, survey research will reveal the pattern and certain students can be reassigned to appropriate school climates and individual students may have their idiosyncracies. Children from such homes or with such personalities still won't fit; they will be assigned to a climate which is not optimum for their educational achievement.

Is the preceding a reason to reject the creation of multicultural school climates? Under present school conditions, there are group differences in educational success. Suppose that one factor in the origin of such disparities is the fit between home and school climate. Then assigning students, by appropriate criteria, to optimum climates would increase the number of successes. To the extent that climate is a salient variable there will be a general improvement in each group's academic achievement. It will still be the case that not all of any group will succeed and some of the group's previously successful students may now fail, but overall is this not a desirable outcome?

432

Perhaps it is. One can hardly object to social engineering, to deliberately structuring school environments to achieve certain outcomes, since the status quo is already deliberately structured. What further reservations remain then? One certainly must be the unconsidered consequences, the unintended side effects of such a program. The argument advanced against maintenance bilingual programs is apropos here: schools should reflect the larger society, they should inculcate and reward skills and attitudes which are advantageous in the larger society, and bilingual programs fail to do this. Will multi-climate schools also produce school successes but social failures?

And just how much school success will they produce? For all the complexity and lack of clarity in the notion of home/school interaction, it is at least plausible to expect climate fit (perceived and/or "objective") to influence a child's and/or a group's school success. But this research does not measure the significance of climate. "Portuguese-ness" may be linked to differential school success through variables other than home climate. Studies documenting the roles of teacher expectations, stereotyping, and self-fulfilling prophesy illustrate one kind of non-climate variable that influences educational outcomes for ethnic minorities. How can a survey distinguish between teacher bias and home climate, for example, both of which may be equally associated with ethnic identity? If climate is only one among a number of factors, then its relative importance must be determined before the formulation of policy implications begins.

Attention should also be given to the possible consequences of too hasty dissemination of the findings of this project. This issue was raised in staff meetings but never adequately explored. From conversations with teachers, administrators, and Portuguese community services staff, and study of the literature, it is apparent that there is already a standardized image of the "Portuguese student." They are seen as well-behaved but not high achievers academically. They are portrayed as victims of their parents' and the community's "materialism," ignorance, and devaluation of education. Elsewhere in this report I consider this view in more detail. Here, I want to emphasize that the schools already attribute Portuguese school failure to Portuguese "culture." Helping teachers become more sensitive to distinctive ethnic home climates can have the effect of reinforcing the existing tendency to balme the Portuguese, and may provide scientific confirmation for the teachers' low expectations of Portuguese students.

A further response to concern about intra-ethnic variation and about reinforcement of negative stereotypes would be to individualize cliamte placement. Advocates of multi-climate schools could avoid some of the problems suggested above by dropping all reference to ethnicity and patterning their programs after existing procedures for "tracking" students by potential. The kindergarten students of the near-future would not only take standard IQ tests but also the Home Climate Questionnaire. The results of these tests would be used to assign the student to a classroom embodying the appropriate school cliamte.

There are additional grounds for skepticism concerning the feasibility, indeed the possibility, of a multi-climate school. "Multiculturalism" has been operationalized in the schools in numerous ways, ranging from increased minority visibility in textbooks, to bilingual education in which students and teachers share a common language and ethnicity. But climate as defined in this study is the total school environment. It includes the styles and the content of interaction of all participants in all settings in the school. How can qualities such as Accessibility, Equal Treatment, Order, Options, Influence Distribution, etc., be "pluralized?" Certainly individual perceptions and evaluations of these characteristics are diverse and the actual practice of individual participants will vary. It is also the case that similar work in the past has led from the measurement of climate profile to alterations in school practice. School rules can be changed, for example, to allow students more elective courses; bus schedules can be altered to provide students with greater access to teachers. But if one group of students thrives in a climate of aloof authority figures, and another in settings of warm, supportive camaraderie, how is such a plural climate to be created in practice? Asked to contrast the junior high to their former elementary school, each of the boys I interviewed answered that the junior high was more regimented, and citing the strict enforcement by teachers of "walking on the right" in the hallways. Suppose that for some students such "order" is educationally beneficial but "turns off" others to school. The desired plurality and improved learning are hardly achieved by requiring only some students to walk on the right.

It is no answer to argue that the practical details will be worked out, case by case, in a cooperative undertaking of informed parents, teachers, and outside consultants. At the staff meeting of April 22, 1980, some of these issues were discussed. It was agreed that the research findings could have quite different practical consequences. Outcomes in specific school will not be determined solely by the good (and bad) intentions of the parties involved. The findings of the study will be received in contexts of existing belief and practice, political structure, and available resources, and some desired outcomes will not be achieveable. A senior staff member, at that meeting, offered the observation that "only as a last resort" do teachers use evidence of ethnic differences to label kids to rationalize school failure. If plural climates are not pragmatically realizable, is this not a situation of last resort?

A salutary reminder of one aspect of the current context of educational change appears in a recent statement by Robert D'Agostino, the new Deputy Assistant General for Civil Rights. Recommending that the Justice Department drop a discrimination suit against the Yonkers, New York, schools, D'Agostino

> ...disputed a government contention in the suit that blacks had been 'improperly classified as emotionally disturbed.'
>
> 'Why improperly?' D'Agostino asked in the July 21 memo... He said that 'blacks, because of their family, cultural and economic bakcground, are more disruptive in the classroom on the average. It seems they would benefit' from programs for the emotionally disturbed.

(San Francisco Chronicle, September 18, 1981, p. 13)

What are the policy implications of findings that, "on the average," school behavior varies by "family, cultural, and economic bakcground?"

VI. WEST-INDIAN AMERICAN

A. Introduction

This chapter represents my impressions of a six-month association with eleven students from the Barber Elementary School in Center City, who identified themselves as West-Indian-Americans. Some of these youngsters and I developed very close relationships; with others, I never got beyond the surface. As is often the case in participant observation research, the actors discussed are real, but to preserve respondents' privacy, names and places have been changed. The events reported remain intact. These boys identify themselves as West Indian, and fit the categories of first, second, or third generation immigrants. The home lands of their families include only three islands: Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbados.

1. Historical and Cultural Roots

Jamaica has the distinction of being the largest and most populous West Indian island after Cuba, with over two million inhabitants. Its large Afro-Jamaican group derives from African slaves. Physically, it is distant from the other anglophone West Indian islands. Its tourist trade is booming, and it remains one of the most progressive West Indian islands, having exhibited leadership in social change and regional development both at home and in relationships with non-aligned nations and the developing world. It exports bauxite, sugar, and reggae music.

Trinidad is about half the size of Jamaica, with a population of about one million people. It probably is the richest West Indian island, on account of substantial oil exports. The British influence in Trinidad and Tobago is neither profound nor pervasive. What is more conspicuous is a racial, social, and political synthesis that is uniquely West Indian.

Barbados is a tiny West Indian island (166 square miles), with a population of about half a million predominantly Afro-Barbadians. Barbadians (Bajans) are probably more British in mannerisms and spirit than their other West Indian counterparts. The island enjoys the reputation of being a fine health spot and a tourist haven. Its economic, social, and political stability are remarkable.

That aggregate of islands and their inhabitants demarcated by the waters of the Caribbean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, and extending from the Cayman Islands in the west to Trinidad in the east, constitute the West Indies. Some confusion emerges when one attempts to refine this definition specifying which entities should be included or excluded. For example, Guyana is located on the northern tip of South America; this former British colony is distinctly West Indian in its synthesis of historical, social, cultural, political, racial, and linguistic characteristics; it is West Indian in awareness and identifies itself as such. Like Guyana, the Bahamas are typically West Indian, but geographically they extend into the Atlantic Ocean, thus lying outside the area bordering the Caribbean. Suffice it to say, however, that the West Indies include Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, the Leeward Islands (Antigua, St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla, Montserrat), the Windward Islands (Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica), and Puerto Rico. Sometimes Cuba is included and distinguished as the largest West Indian Island.

The peculiar institution of the transatlantic slave trade had as its central theme the forced migration of Africans to the West Indian islands. This involved an influx of European goods into Africa, which were exchanged for cargos of slaves who were transported to the West Indies, in exchange for Tobacco, coffee, rum, and sugar. This notorious "triangular trade" accounted for Africans being shipped and deposited on West Indian plantations.

Slavery, emancipation (1838), the system of indentured servitude, the peculiar history and negative impact of regional colonialism and imperialism, and the successful struggle for independence, all contribute to the unique flavor and assortment that make the West Indies special and different.

The combination of indigenous Amerindian cultures (Arawaks and Caribs, some of whom were obliterated or displaced to Central America), European institutions and other imports, the African numerical predominance and the distinctly West Indian dialects (patois, creole), make for the intricacy and complexity of this multifarious group of people.

The term, West Indian, refers to more than geographical boundaries; it connotes, among other things, experiential similarities that run deep and contributed to modes of behavior that emerged from identifiable historical roots and events.

The sparkling sandy beaches and enticing oceanic waters, the gentle tropical winds and generally serene climate punctuated by nocturnal glamor, reggae and calypso music, the lackadaisical attitudes and friendly postures, are all endemic to life in the West Indies; but so are devastating hurricanes, menacing earthquakes, and life-threatening volcanoes.

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3. West-Indian-Americans and Afro-Americans

Many West Indian Blacks living in the United States have distinguished themselves in a variety of areas, including education and business. Their achievement motivation is unquestionably high, and their determination unwavering. Generally, the West Indian who migrates to the United States does so with a useful repertoire of job-related skills and a sound British education. He or she may be highly industrious with some inner goal in mind. He/she comes from a society in which mentors or well-placed sponsors, are prodigiously influential. He/she is the product of a home and school environment that encourages and reinforces perseverance and "I can succeed" kinds of notions.

First generation West Indians in the United States have an extra advantage in that they grew up in societies that did not practice blatant categorical and systematic racism that depersonalized and dehumanized him/her. Consequently, the injurious consequences produced by fear, segregation, negative stereotypes, violence, and denial of opportunity were not experienced by West Indians in a sustained manner in their daily lives. After West Indians take up residence in the United States, they usually escape the most pernicious aspects of racism by settling in major northern cities where it is disguised, subtle, and sophisticated. Ignoring it is often feasible.

Living or coming from a predominantly Afro-Caribbean society, where models of success are everywhere, and the espoused theory of race relations is congruent with the theory-in-action, both visibly demonstrating that others of one's likeness have succeeded, is an important precursor of success in the new environment. Undoubtedly, these experiences foster feelings of internal locus-of-control that contribute to a self-fulfilling prophecy leading to success.

The Black middle-class in America has also distinguished itself by surmounting many obstacles to achieve upward social mobility. The Black intellectual, for example, has vaulted many social and academic barriers to take his/her position in academia across the nation. Black businessmen and women have also made impressive strides in the corporate world. Even though one may point to these accomplishments with joy, one cannot rejoice and be complacent, for the struggle has just begun.

But these accomplishments are remarkable when one assesses the tremendous odds against which they were accomplished. Black Americans are discriminated against phenotypically, and this discrimination is a major obstacle to Black advancement. The average Black child is at a disadvantage even before he or she comes into the world; once he is born, the odds remain astronomical.

Socioeconomic status helps determine the pregnant Black mother's diet. She is apt to be poor, hence malnourished. She is prone to infectious and non-infectious diseases. The maternal care and medical facilities she has access to are often inferior. Worrying about food, shelter, health, money, and an additional family member render her emotionally turbulent, which often affects the fetus to the extent it becomes hyperactive. All these conditions have a negative impact on the child she carries, and often extend into his/her post-natal years.

After the Black child is born, if it is healthy, or if its unhealthy condition is reversed, the battle for normal development is not over. There are detrimental environmental conditions to overcome, including ones affecting the satisfaction of physiological needs for food, clothing, and shelter; for some, obtaining a sufficiency requires perpetual battles with the "whims and fancies" of an insensitive, unempathetic, and unsympathetic bureaucracy. But the anguish of the Black American is not restricted to subsistence matters. He/she must contend with discrimination, blockage, and denial of opportunity, inferior educational facilities, negative self-concept and threatened self-worth, poverty and ghettoization, lack of mentors, alienation, economic exploitation, cultural belittlement and ridicule, and a lower life expectancy.

Yet despite all these obstacles and more, many Black Americans are able to surmount these tremendous odds; they pull themselves out of the rut of a festering neighborhood to achieve a comfortable standard of living.

Too many social scientists are fond of pointing to the accomplishments of West Indian-Americans and describing them as superior to those of Afro-Americans. The mere use of the term, "superior", places our Afro-American kin in an inferior position. This superior-inferior dichotomy is a hold-over from colonialism, where it was used to divide and conquer homogeneous groups. One group was labelled superior, and by inference the other was inferior. The superior group internalized this notion and behaved in ways congruent with it. Needless to say, resentment and hostility ensued.

One must recognize the social, psychological, political, economic, and cultural differences that set Afro-Americans and West Indian-Americans apart as distinct groups; by so doing, one will desist from overambitious and simplistic comparisons. After all, Afro-Americans paid an expensive price that paved the way for foreign Blacks who now enjoy the fruits of the Civil Rights movement and other Black-inspired revolutions. West Indians struggled for independence, self-determination, and economic and political stability in their own countries. Both groups should be credited for their accomplishments and allowed to get on with the business of creating unity and understanding.

The tendency to engage in Afro-American/West Indian comparisons is not restricted to social scientists. Individuals encountered in this study were also so inclined, which necessitated addressing the issue as it is sure to surface in the fieldnotes that follow.

B. Community Studied and Methodology

1. Sample Selection

The Barber Elementary School was selected to participate in this study primarily because of its racial/ethnic composition. With the help of some of the teachers, the principal of the school compiled a list of students of suspected West Indian origin and submitted it to me. Once respondents were targeted, my responsibility was to secure the signed permission of parents for each child's participation in the study. I visited the school and talked with each student individually. I explained the proposed study and requested the youth's participation. I asked that he/she talk it over with his/her parents and followed this up by delivering written information about the project to the home of each child. I also informed students that we would have a group meeting of prospective participants where we would discuss parental concerns and students' feelings, expectations, and questions about the study.

I had full attendance at the group meeting. There were ten boys and eight girls, all of West Indian descent. Most of the students were enthused about being in the study. Two of the most zealous ones proposed ways by which I could gain access to the data I sought. One entailed my staying over in the homes for a few nights each, to learn about them. The research design of the project required that the fieldworkers immerse themselves in the homes, neighborhoods, schools, and peer groups of the respondents under study. Respondents were to be "shadowed" during out-of-school hours in the afternoon and evening. Recording of notes was to be as unobtrusive as possible, occurring preferably between observations.

However, most of the boys informed me that their parents approved their participation in the study, but that my observations would have to be restricted to school, community, and peer group settings; under no circumstances would I be allowed into their homes. No reasons were offered, but even the students seemed pleased by this restriction. My enquiries revealed that I was perceived as a stranger and outsider, perhaps an authorized intruder. Only two students indicated their parents had no objections to my observing in their homes; a few others admitted that they were not sure how their parents felt. Meanwhile, the parents had returned the signed consent letters giving permission for their children to participate in the study. Everything had now been finalized, so observation of the male participants began.

That part of the study involving the West Indian girls never materialized. My original female colleague resigned before the fieldwork started. Her successor was only intermittently involved with the girls. She was not given a proper orientation, and support was lacking. In the early stages of my involvement, I identified prospective female West Indian respondents, apprised them of all the facts associated with the study, and introduced them to my intended co-researcher. She made impressive inroads overcoming resistance exhibited by parents and some students, but beyond this, nothing substantive occurred.

2. Researcher's Statement

V. Michael McKenzie was born in Guyana and educated in the United States. He holds an Associate of Arts degree and a Bachelor's in Psychology from the City University of New York, a Master's in Social Science from Syracuse University, and a Certificate of Advanced Study in Psychology from Harvard University. He currently lectures at Syracuse University, where he is completing a Ph.D. in Psychology.

A multitude of psychological and psychophysical experiments on perception illustrate that what human beings perceive is based on an intricate network of feelings, past and present experiences, perceptual and interpretative processes, and our physical and emotional states. Since we employ so many filtering mechanisms, we can never be confident that what we report does indeed represent reality. Reality as it exists is unavoidably altered as we make contact with and try to make sense of it. Irrespective of how hard we try, the reality we create through the use of our cognitive frames may be in disharmony with reality as it exists.

The preceding underscores that striving for and claiming to have captured reality in its totality may indeed be quixotic. The most we can hope to achieve is an impression of what exists, a jaundiced view at best. And so, as we try to make sense of our experiences of social phenomena, we must be constantly reminded that what we report represents only our view, probably a distorted one.

Regardless of our diligence, vigilance, and strict adherence to the rules governing participant observation research, the interdependence of what we believe ourselves to observe and what we infer from that is problematic. Since observation and inference are inseparable, superficial acquaintance with the observed may well lead to erroneous inferences and misleading and injurious conclusions.

No human being who engages in participant observation research can become immune to being influenced by the respondents under study. Similarly, the respondents to some extent influence the researcher's behavior, negatively or positively.

In this study of eleven West Indian boys in Center City, achieving the true status of participant observer required wearing the shoes of those respondents. My primary task was to anchor myself firmly in the group so that respondents would grow accustomed to my presence and ignore me; eventually, I hoped to function almost as they did. This was not an easy task. Even though no resentment was conspicuous, a tense uneasiness plagued the early period of our association which will be described elsewhere.

The initial phases of my entry into the group were characterized by a carefully designed collaborative process. I checked constantly with respondents for confirmation and disconfirmation as I made inferences and tested my hunches. This led to an elaborate socialization process in which my education involved "rap sessions" (lectures) and demonstrations by my respondents. They taught me a great deal. I began to feel less of an outsider as I won their confidence and developed rapport. By this time our pulses were beating in unison; I was included in all their activities, so my outgroup status was reversed.

C. Observations and Sketches of the Boys

(The author of this report left the Boston area in June of 1980, at least a year earlier than originally anticipated. As a result, he was unable to complete a full-scale analysis of his fieldnotes on the West Indian boys of Center City. The following pages contain extracts from the notes, and reflections thereon. In the opinion of senior project staff, his data and informal interpretations are rich and worth presenting here. From them, an interested reader should be able to derive his/her own conclusions regarding the home and school environments experienced by the boys in the sample. The senior staff is grateful to Mr. McKenzie for completing the work to the present stage, under difficult conditions.)

1. Roger

a. At School

Room 302 houses a sixth grade headed by Ms. Laird. The walls of the classroom are adorned with colorful drawings and paintings done by students of Room 302. It is a large classroom with special areas set aside for group activities, such as remedial reading.

Roger is in Ms. Laird's class. He was born in Jamaica, West Indies. He is a friendly youngster who comes over and says hello whenever I am around. Today he is very quiet and is not interacting with anyone in class. He walked to the teacher's desk with an opened book. This interaction lasted for about ten minutes. He read to the teacher, she talked to him, he responded and read again. He nodded his head regularly, indicating that he understood and approved of what the teacher was saying. He returned to his desk, closed his notebook and idly sat back as others headed for the teacher's desk. Roger got up and went over to a neighbor's desk. Together they went off to the remedial reading area. They stood talking. Occasionally, they pulled at and laughed with each other. Roger's companion pulled something from his pocket, which I learned later was a piece of paper with drawings his friend had done at home.

Roger returned to his desk after a ten-minute break.

He opened a text and leafed through it. He stopped at about the middle and read for a while. He looked up and gazed around the class. The time spent looking at the text was equal in duration to the time he spent gazing.

Roger was excused to leave the classroom. He hurried out and disappeared in the lavatory. Ten minutes or so elapsed before he emerged. He headed back to his class aimlessly. He dragged himself on the walls as he went. He stopped and greeted a youngster on his way and a conversation started. They were saying something about music practice. Their conversation continued for about four minutes before Ms. Lombard interrupted. "You boys know better than to be talking in the hallway. No talking is allowed in the halls." Before Ms. Lombard completed her statements, they had dispersed, each man heading to his class. Roger returned to his class and took his seat.

b. Babysitting

Roger and I walked briskly as he headed from the Barber School. He was on his way to his aunt's house. She has a young daughter and he was on his way to assist with some household chores. We did not talk about much during the ten minute walk. In response to my question, he said school was going fine. We talked about baseball, and he thought he might be attending a game that weekend. As we got to the door, he pressed a bell and his aunt returned a buzz and we entered the apartment. We ascended a few flights of stairs and were greeted by his aunt, a friendly woman of about twenty-five.

She was holding her young baby who looked to be about eleven months old. She seemed surprised to see me, and rather than prolong her curiousity I introduced myself and told her why I was with Roger.

She smiled and said, "Oh, come in." Roger disappeared briefly and I was shown to the living room. His aunt accompanied me and for a brief moment we talked about the project. She asked to be excused and picked up the phone. She spoke with Roger's mother and informed her that Roger had arrived safely. She said she would call back to make arrangements about Roger's getting home.

Roger joined us in the living room. For a while he did not say anything. Then he began playing with his niece. His aunt and I watched as the baby smiled and occasionally giggled. This continued for several minutes with Roger and the smiling little baby. He continued to play with the child while his aunt excused herself from the room. We were alone, except for the baby, but nothing occurred conversationally. Roger called out to his aunt, "Not going, ah!" For a while she did not respond.

When we heard footsteps coming toward the living room, somehow we knew it was she. She came in and sat down, obviously perturbed over something. "You trying to run me out, Mr. Roger?" she said smiling. "I'll leave when I am good and ready. What's keeping him anyway?" It all began to make sense, Roger was to babysit while his aunt was out. It wasn't long after this exchange that the bell rang and his aunt left.

It's very difficult to describe this evening as a particularly eventful one. For the hour and a half I spent there after his aunt left, nothing happened. Roger turned the TV on and stayed glued to it. He attended to the baby well, who was asleep for the most part. We exchanged words periodically and I can say he likes TV a great deal.

In a sense, each and every member of a family is valued to some degree. One becomes cognizant of this status by the way one is treated and the things that get communicated. Roger is a valued member of his family, as exemplified by the responsibility that was thrust upon him and the joyful way in which he assumed it. His aunt trusted him to babysit her very young infant. He seemed pleased and not bothered by this chore, which took him away from his friends and the play activity he indulged in most afternoons.

Even at his home he is trusted to run important errands, and he shows delight in running these errands. "These are important responsibilities that not only assist the family in moving on, but they also help children develop a sense of togetherness and responsibility that they would find useful later. Our parents back in the West Indies gave us things to do and important things, too. And it was good for us as we developed. Even our brothers had to do woman's work. But it made better men and women out of us all." This is Roger's mother's paraphrased statement.

So it is easy to understand where Roger got his sense of responsibility. It's in his roots, part of the norms that govern his family that one can observe. This passing on of important norms seems to be at the base of this family's existence. Part of its origin lies in oral African tradition that bears responsibility for a great deal of what African people know about their motherland prior to setting things down in writing.

It seems that the family enjoys doing things together and each member does make a contribution. Marriage does not seem to dissolve these norms that run so deep. In fact, the extended family seems to reinforce the norms even more. I was told that this aunt has gone to Roger's home with her family and prepared meals that all join in partaking. This is not unusual in West Indian and other families, but no where in my sample was it so conspicuous and deliberate than in this family.

I gathered that older members of this family have seen what alienation can do to West-Indian-American families in transition, and they are determined not to let such a tragedy befall them. Families with different orientations live miles apart; the phone is their only contact, except for annual and semi-annual family reunions. This family, from all indications, makes a conscious, deliberate, and unified attempt to communicate and to remain harmonious and unified, all in a collective effort to stay together.

Roger is aware of this, and the impact on the development of his personality has been tremendous. While others may make passing reference to family members and family traditions, Roger is equipped with an in-depth understanding of the history behind what his family does.

He talks of being in touch with his roots, and these are not catch phrases. He is aware of who he is in relation to other family members, and what his function will be in educating young nieces and nephews about family roots and history: the Jamaica-Center City connection; how it got started, what it means, how we have survived as a family unit, etc. Each member's contribution is interesting as one examines the intricate network of family members who are determined to be West Indian in an American city. It's a difficult undertaking, and one that each member must contribute to if the links are to remain intact.

I was impressed with Roger and his sense of responsibility. But I was more profoundly impressed when I was exposed to and understood the family tradition, norms, and efforts.

2. Charles

a. At School

Charles was born in Trinidad and raised in Center City. His parents and grandparents are from Trinidad. Charles is a very studious youngster. I have observed him frequently engaged in academic tasks, during which time he does not attend to his peers. He is serious about school as he has indicated to me. His present aim is to work hard to get to high school.

He is a friendly and likable youngster. Mr. Faulkner, his teacher, said, "He is a good student, but he can produce more than he has." In class, Charles spends his time doing required assignments, when he is not, he involves himself in reading or math practice. I have not seen any idleness in Charles, espcially in the classroom. I sat for several minutes observing Charles and nothing unfolded. They were the most uneventful moments to date. Charles attended to his lessons without the slightest indication of concern for events or people around him. This kind of profound concentration and involvement was characteristic of Charles throughout our association.

b. The Future

Charles' family moved to Center City about seven years ago. His mother is a lively, friendly, hospitable person. She appears very young for a mother of a fourteen year old. I never met his father, whom I was told works at different jobs.

A common theme that pervades the plans, expectations, and wishes of most of these West Indian parents is that of achievement. The achievement motivation syndrome appears to run high in this sample. Charles' mother talks incessantly of Charles' being able to go to college and university, and then assuming an influential job. To a great degree Charles epitomizes his family's expectations of him in the academic world. He talks of a serious quest to become an educated person. He understands and is quick to point out that a good education provides a person with a good job, which means that one can assist the family, particularly younger brothers and sisters.

The whole family throws their weight behind Charles, according to his mother. There is a daily schedule that organizes Charles' activities, my observations have led me to believe. When Charles comes home from school he changes his clothes and finds something to eat. He may relax for up to forty-five to sixty minutes. This may be in the form of watching TV or sitting on the stoop (steps) chatting with friends. Sometimes this relaxation period grows to two to two and a half hours if he goes out to play, usually at the neighborhood center. Whatever the form of his relaxation, it is followed by a serious and dedicated two or three hours of school work at home. This romance with the books, as it were, is intrinsically motivated, and one can only surmise that it grows out of parental influences that foster a need and desire for academic competence.

Mr. Faulkner's (Charles' teacher) assessment that Charles can produce more has been communicated to the family and not taken lightly by them. Their reaction to Mr. Faulkner's assessment is one of "cultural dissimilarity". As they explained, Charles has always been a good student in behavior and academic performance. He has a distinct disadvantage in that his family grew up in a different culture, and thus they have a different educational orientation. So when other parents of American birth can teach their kids about American history, American literature, and all those things which the parents themselves grew up learning, the West Indian parent cannot. "Therefore, there are some areas, including the new math, that we as parents cannot contribute to." This seems to be a serious and major area of concern for Charles' family. They feel, as expressed by his mother, that lacking this extra resource, Charles will take some time to excel up to his fullest potential. She recognizes, however, that some students do excel without parental help; she agrees that providing the climate (books, stimulating conversation, encouragement) is usually a positive influence. All the intellectual stimulations one can think of were mentioned in our conversations, some of which have made their way into Charles' home. For example, the environment is enriched by books, electronic (mathematical) games, and intellectually stimulating dinner conversations.

The whole notion of a good education and facilitating Charles' movement in that direction is a major undertaking for his family. Charles appears to enjoy all that his family is doing in this regard; he does not appear to be burdened by it all. In fact, he is the first one to admit that developing the mind is a good thing, and he seems to regard it as a priority.

This came together when I observed him in the classroom. He was attentive, and when engaged independently in work, his concentration was profound, with little or no regard for events that unfolded around him. He is a remarkable student, I think, with a sense of purpose, direction, and dedication, who has no mixed feelings about what he wants and where he wishes to go in life.

Charles' play activity is as intense as his academic activity. He works up a sweat when on the field as if everything else does not exist. He is encouraged to have this recreation period and takes advantage of it. This kind of freedom to be authentic in any given activity is the kind that was lacking in my observation of certain other boys' activities. Charles is spontaneous, unpretentious, and totally relaxed, it seems, but purposefully so.

His closest friend is Bill, and they spend many hours together. But even Bill is different when compared to Charles. Charles seems to do a thing for the intrinsic reward; Bill seems to do it because it is goal-related: it achieves some end other than the challenge or fun that it presents.

Charles is valued by his friends, mostly peers at the Barber School. He is often consulted by Bill, Steven, Brian, and others about what he will be doing during any given evening; this is, I have surmised, due to his leadership qualities. He is usually ahead of everyone in suggesting things to do, he takes initiative to start and follow through on agreed-upon activities. He is friendly and never angered anyone in the many interactions that I have observed. Physically, he rivals everyone except Steven, although he is not that far removed in size. But he has an unusual compassion for and sensitivity to people. He listens well and is very seldom critical of his peers. He gets along with all his friends, not because he acquiesces, but because he is involved, likable, and fun to be around.

He is not a bully and everyone I have solicited a comment from seems to think he is great, even his parents and his teacher, Mr. Faulkner. His peers respect him because he is "cool" and he is not a "jive" or phony.

Charles is for the most part quiet-spoken. Even though he gets excited on the playground, he is seldom ever boisterous.

He has the greatest admiration for his family. He finds them supportive, kind, lenient, strict, and very loving. He contends that his family is proud of him and that one day he will make them prouder. When I asked him what he meant, he said: "Well, I will be something one day, something great." This assured confidence and determination is not alien to Charles. His family believes he can do it, he believes he can do it, and my having been around him convinces me that their beliefs are realistic.

This positive self-concept is, in my judgement, responsible for his optimistic look at life and what it has to offer him.

3. Clyde

a. At School

Clyde is a lively youngster who is quite small for his age, but commands attention because of his dynamic personality and cooperative manner. He exhibits an unusual kind of concern for people and what they do. My first encounter with him came when he introduced himself to me, prior to a group meeting. "I am Clyde. My name is on the list you got."

"Great. How are things, Clyde?"

"Good."

"We are getting set to have a meeting with all the students in the study in a few minutes."

"Yes, I know. I will get them together for you."

"Hey man, thanks."

With this, Clyde took off and disappeared into room 302.

His attitude of assistance, concern and cooperation persisted throughout our association of four months. Later we shall see how Clyde showed an interest in my observations and field notes.

b. At the Neighborhood Center

Clyde said hello to me as he entered the neighborhood center. He waited for me and we walked to the indoor basketball court. Bill taunted him. "He is following you around, Mr. McKenzie. He can't keep up with me." Directing his question to me, Bill asked, "When are you going to follow me?" I responded by saying. "Later this week."

Clyde stood on the ramp overlooking the basketball court. A practice game was in session. He watched intently and appeared to be enjoying himself. Many youngsters trod in and out, a few stopped and said hello to Clyde. He appeared to be less conscious of my presence now as he darted back and forth between the gymnasium and the common room. He came over to me periodically to make me aware of where he was going to be. " I am going to the stoops. I will be downstairs."

I followed him downstairs to the basement. About nineteen youngsters, ages four through twelve, were engaged in as assortment of activities, such as painting, block-building, singing, junkyard, and reading. These youngsters were having a good time. My presence seemed not to have the slightest effect on what they were doing. Clyde greeted some friends and began talking. The conversation ended abruptly when someone started chasing Clyde. He ran around the block-building room into the painting room screaming in a kind of wild merriment. He ran past me seemingly unaware of my presence. I moved aside. Unable to catch Clyde, his pursuer slowly retreated and rejoined his group. Clyde slumped into a chair, obviously trying to catch his breath.

I moved closer to him. He was panting for breath, apparently relieved that the attack had subsided. He sat motionless as he observed a game of junkyard that unfolded before him. The three players had a dice and board with some numbers and letters on it. The group was boisterous and every throw of the dice was accompanied by loud screams. Less than two minutes went by before Clyde was caught up in this game. "Hit it, Leo!", he yelled. Clyde pulled his chair closer and was soon immersed in the game. His enthusiasm and eagerness for Leo to win rang through as the dice became available to Leo. "OK, Leo, hit it gooood!", Clyde yelled. Leo struck a disappointing five and Clyde responded, "Oh, man!" Clyde became quiet, his enthusiasm and eagerness for Leo to win obviously diminished. As Leo got the dice for the fourth time, Clyde quietly said, "Do it now Leo, do it." Leo failed to do it. He hit a seven and fell short of the required points to take the lead. Clyde remained a spectator but from a greater distance and with less concern for the game. Clyde left without the game coming to a conclusion.

He headed towards the basketball court. He watched the practice game in silence. His eyes followed the ball as it moved along the court. A young lady stopped and they chatted briefly. "Hi, Clyde!"

"Norma, you said you weren't coming today."

"I got through with my homework."

"Are you playing?"

"I guess so."

With that reply she moved away. I recognized her as a student from the Barber school.

Clyde left the game and went to the common room. The common room is an all-purpose room. It is large with three eating tables, each accommodating eight or nine chairs. A sitting area is off to the side, occupying about one-fifth of the common room. The sitting area has a console television, a music box, and a piano.

Clyde sat at one of the tables and was joined by Leo. They both had milk and doughnuts. Clyde leafed through a novel for about five minutes, and then gave it to Leo. Leo took the book and went through it frantically. He finally placed it on the table and began consuming his snack. Little conversation took place as they both ate their snacks.

The room became crowded and noisy as about a dozen youngsters, all under the age of seven, were ushered in. Clyde was gobbling down his snack. He appeared to be in a hurry. He finished, cleared his spot and left. Leo did not follow. Instead, he left his seat for one closer to two youngsters who were seated across from him. When I left the common room, Leo was seated attending to his snack.

I caught up with Clyde. He was seated on the railing on the ramp, watching a practice basketball game. I stood close by. He acknowledged my presence with a smile. The practice game ended but it was not long before another game began. Clyde rolled up his pants and headed for the court. His agility was amazing. He stole the ball several times, moved down the court with ease, but was ineffective in getting it into the basket. Clyde is a small-statured individual and had trouble making the height required to dump the ball in.

Clyde was aggressive on the court. He moved well, but was unable to score. This brought ridicule from his teammates. They shouted at him to pass the ball, share it, but he appeared not to hear and certainly did not heed their cries. The game lasted well over half an hour and not once did Clyde head for the sidelines. When it was all over, Clyde's name had been called the most. He was perspiring profusely and went to the water fountain. He was followed by other players. They all drank, but no conversations were held about the game or any infractions that may have occurred. Some of the players left and others went to the common room.

Clyde sat in the common room and watched television with two of his teammates. No one spoke. It was now dark outside and youngsters were leaving. One of the trio asked what time it was. Someone replied six-thirty. They continued to watch the program. Another five minutes passed and nothing occurred.

Clyde was the first to rise. "I'm gonna split." He looked at me and said. "Are you coming tomorrow?"

"Yes." I responded. We took our coats and left.

The walk to Clyde's house is a short three blocks. As we hurried along, nothing much was said. I asked: "What are you going to do now?"

"Go home and eat." He replied.

"What about homework?"

"No, I don't have none."

"Did you have a good time at the center?"

"It was OK."

We were closing in on his home and a silence enveloped us. "See you tomorrow." Clyde said.

"OK, I will see you then." I responded.

c. Inviolability of the Home

Clyde presented an unusual problem. He attended all meetings I held at the Barber school during the early phases of the research. He was helpful, willing and cooperative.

All communications from home indicated that he was cleared to be in the study. I observed him in school and at the neighborhood center. However, when I tried to visit his home, problems ensued.

When I arrived at Clyde's house for my first visit, I pressed the doorbell and a male voice asked, "Who is it?" I identified myself and explained that I was here in connection with the study Clyde was involved in. In a rather unfriendly manner and tone, the voice indicated that he did not know anything about it and that I should come back when Clyde was at home. I left.

The second visit was no different. I was told that Clyde was not at home, but once he got back they would find out about what was going on. My attempts to get an audience with his father, whom I had encountered on both occasions, had been unsuccessful.

Clyde could not give me any explanation of what had happened. He told me he knew nothing of what had happened. I tried a third time, but was unsuccessful at getting into Clyde's home.

Clyde lived less than a block from the Barber school. When I walked him home, I sometimes stayed on the steps or the passage way. After he changed, he would return and spend some time on the stairs. On some occasions, we would walk together on our way to the center.

I tried never to enter homes without parental consent or the explicit awareness that I was coming to visit. So with this lacking, and the reception I had been given previously, I decided not to enter the home while Clyde's parents were at work.

My efforts to set up a meeting to see Clyde's parents continued to be unsuccessful. I thought maybe I should develop a strategy for dealing with this problem. I decided that by hanging around Clyde's home I would surely encounter his parents. Soon, I did.

I had been sitting on the steps awaiting Clyde's return, when a woman of about thirty-eight came up to the door. I had not seen her before, but thought it must be Clyde's mother. I said "Hello" and asked her if she was Clyde's mother. She answered "Yes", and I introduced myself.

I told her about the study and what my role was in it. I also told her of the difficulty I had encountered trying to spend some time in the home. I explained that the procedure involved my getting her written permission, which she had already given, and then a personal visit to get acquainted. She denied having seen any correspondence or having given permission to study Clyde.

I was unrelenting in my claim that the consent letter was signed and returned. At this point she said that maybe it was signed and maybe she had forgotten. She futher indicated that Clyde had been studied many times before and they had gotten tired of it all, so maybe this had something to do with it. Finally, she told me it was fine to observe Clyde in school and at the neighborhood center, but she and her husband would not want me in the home.

I attempted to reassure her that my presence in the home was in no way intended to evaluate, or be a threat, or anything negative. She responded by saying that she had not thought in this regard, but that they are a very private family and this would be an unwelcome intrusion.

Her candor was something to be admired. She came across as an intelligent and confident woman. Even though she held firm to her ground and I was unable to get into the home, my feelings were more disappointment than frustration or anger. I guess her manner was something that helped.

I later made several subtle, but unsuccessful, attempts to enter the home, before I finally gave it up.

In the first set of notes, I describe interactions with

Clyde at school and in the neighborhood center. He is in the middle group of the eleven boys I studied because of his age and size.

First Group	Second Group	Third Group
1. Steven	1. Clyde	1. Sam
2. Bill	2. Brian	2. Roger
3. Charles	3. Winston	3. Edward
4. Leo	4. Victor	

These groupings are based on a variety of criteria. First and foremost are age and grade in school. Also, friendship patterns, even though groups one and two seem to share members very often.

Clyde is in group two. Because of his age he is not allowed out too late on weekends. Consequently, most, if not all, of my observations of him occurred at school, on the street, or at the center.

The boys in group two presented the greatest challenge, except for Victor. This may be an arbitrary classification system, but it does provide some order and a sense of individual and group relationships.

Not much opportunity was available to observe and interact with Clyde outside of the center. He did not attend the baseball games. He did not go bicycle riding or hang around in the neighborhood. He was more restricted, and that was expected because he was younger than most of the other boys and considerably smaller in size.

His parents are no doubt strict, and this accounts for some of the restrictions. Clyde thought that he had a great deal of freedom, in fact more than his peers. Clyde's perceptions were based on the fact that he always went to the center, and stayed longer than most of his peers.

Most of these West Indian families are achievement-oriented, and nowhere is this more evident than in the academic areas. Clyde's parents bear this out, also. In Clyde's case, as in others, once the student is on top of his academic work and shows promise, he is given encouragement, freedom to spend less time doing academic work, and positive reinforcement which often includes more recreation (play) time.

The pride and caring behaviour of these West Indian parents are quite conspicuous. Compared to the parent-child relationship I have observed within some other groups in America, West Indian parent-child interactions have some distinctive features. I will restrict myself to talking about some of these distinctive features as I saw them in the center city families.

Some of the boys could not leave their homes without their parents being aware, preferably by word of mouth, prior to the time they wanted to leave. A note sometimes is acceptable, a message left with an older sibling, or a phone call to the parent at work, are all variations. The feedback I get from other American children, as I share this with them, is that this is too restrictive: my parents trust me to be able to take care of myself.

The West Indian parent does not react in a kindly fashion to this restrictive, lack-of-trust argument. The West Indian parent is quick to describe American society as a jungle and wilderness, where adults are very cruel to children, something they claim never ever occurs in the West Indies. They claim that, as a result, parents have to be more caring and diligent, and if they are not, they are not good parents. Obviously, beliefs and values are wrapped up in these philosophies, and they are of the kind that lead to judgemental behavior. West Indians are quick to point out that they care only about how their own children are trained, and have little to say about how other groups rear their children. But, indeed they do; for they frequently compare and criticize, and the notion of superior/inferior parenting habits often emerges.

So Clyde is getting a heavy dose of West Indian socialization practices, many of which he will make a permanent part of his behavioral repertoire. Being in the American culture, and having Americans as peers, will undoubtedly erode some aspects of his socialization, but a great deal of it will remain intact.

While I was visiting with his mother on the front stairs, Clyde joined us and listened to our conversation. His father came out and was about to head down the street. His mother said to his father, "Put that shirt in your pants, George." The father looked around, hesitated, and inquired "Why?". The mother responded by saying, "Because it looks more respectable." Now the father came back and placed his shirt in his pants.

This interaction could be misconstrued as the mother being authoritarian, domineering, and bossy. Or the father could be seen as non-assertive, obedient, dependent, or not in control. But, I saw it as a caring, concerned, and appropriate kind of behavior. Perhaps having a West Indian orientation, maybe my bias shows here.

However, the facts that Clyde witnessed this, and that there was no effort made for him not to hear it, probably are the most significant aspects of the incident; since imitative learning is probably the most potent socializing mechanism.

Participant observation research is a powerful tool. Here, despite the fact that I was unable to enter Clyde's home, some interesting things emerged. In discussing home visits with students, I noted that they echoed the sentiments of their parents against such occurrences. Their discomfort seemed to flow from their parents' suspicion that the researcher would look at what they had in their homes, and somehow judge the quality of their lives by evaluating their material possessions. Such evaluations constitute a part of their own daily procedures, and they assured this frame of reference would be used by the fieldworker in assessing them.

No wonder it consumes so much time and effort to convince a family that one's intentions are honorable. Despite the admiration and status a scientific researcher commands, among West Indians, I am convinced that this resistance derives from something fundamental in their lives. It's a kind of collective self-image that may be violated if a researcher comes into the home, a giving up of something, a kind of self-disclosure. He/she will see us as we really are, and that's bad; but what's worse is that he/she will tell someone about us--the world maybe-- and this is threatening. If trust had developed, the apparent threat would have decreased. But what I received was a visceral response, a self-preserving one, that was consistent with the notion that, as human beings, we must always be in control. To be in control is, in essence, to be able to predict consequences. And if one is unable to predict consequences, then one should not take a chance and participate.

All of this is not an elaborate, conscious reasoning process. At best, most of it is semi-conscious. A series of built-in, reflective responses are sparked off by certain stimuli, and a limited amount of thinking and processing occurs.

Resistance to allowing me in their homes among the parents occurred frequently. The explanation for this response that I offer here is not intended to eliminate the additional possibility that these people may also be exhibiting the effects of overstudy, since other research projects involving the West Indian group in the neighborhood had occurred in recent years. But more than this seems to be involved, as suggested above.

4. Winston

a. At School

Winston was newly admitted to the Barber school. Mr. Faulkner, Ms. Lombard, Bill and Charles greeted me with the news of this new West Indian lad whom they thought would be fine for the study. So I went to room 305 and talked with Winston. He was born and raised in Barbados, thus perfectly suited for the study. His roots were Barbadian. They extended to his grandparents. We chatted about the study in great detail. He agreed to participate and indicated that he was confident his parents would not object to him being in the study.

Winston is a quiet but extremely friendly youngster. Today he appeared lethargic. He sat motionless and speechless for almost all of the first hour. Occasionally, he would rest his head on the desk. What was bothering him became overbearing and he went to the teacher. Accompanied by another student chosen by Mr. Faulkner, he headed for the medical station located on the ground floor. I joined them for the walk. Nothing was said as Winston was obviously in pain.

Winston's visit with the nurse lasted for about twenty-five minutes. During this time he sat slumped in a chair having refused my offer of assistance. He did not speak, choosing instead to cradle his face in his palm. When the visit was over, Winston spoke only once, hinting that the nurse thought his slight malady was a virus. He returned to his class with some medicine the nurse had given him. Everyone seemed surprised that the nurse did not send him home.

The moments following Winston's return to the classroom were marked by dizziness as reported by Winston. He looked drowsy and rested his head on the desk for longer periods now. The rest of the class began to ignore him at this point.

Winston does not engage in much activity with his peers; he is also very reserved and for the most part verbally inactive. He seldom talks unless in response to some question. He is polite and from all accounts (teacher and parent) he is an academically superior student.

I surmised that the transition from a West Indian to American setting, with its usual adjustment problems, accounted for his behavior. A week after the preceding observations, I decided to test this assumption.

"Winston, how do you like it at this school?"

"It's alright."

"What are some of the things you really like about the Barber school?"

"My teacher is Okay. I like the work."

"What about the students?"

"We get along fine."

"Do you like sports?"

"Yes, but not the kind they play."

"What kinds of sports do you like and enjoy?"

"Cricket and football." (i.e., soccer)

"Do you get to play them much here in Center City?"

"No, all they play is baseball."

"How do you feel about baseball?"

"Not great."

"Why?"

"Not enough fun, and I don't like to play baseball."

"So you would like to be able to play football and cricket?"

"Yes."

"Are you forming any teams?"

"I am thinking about it."

As we walked towards his home, Winston did not say anything, so I initiated a second conversation.

"How about friends at the Barber school and around the home? Do you play a lot with them?"

"I see Bill and Charles there, but we only talk and fool around. They play different things.'

"What do you mean different things?"

"They play ball on the field and they stay out late at nights. I don't go that much."

"You spend a lot of time at home?"

"Yes, with my books and I watch TV a lot."

"So you spend much of your time at home?"

"Yes."

As we got to his home, Winston said goodbye and hurried upstairs.

b. In the Family Setting

Winston is a member of an extended family, sharing an apartment, that includes his grandmother, mother, aunts, and two uncles. He has been reluctant to speak about his father and respecting this, I have not pressed this issue. His mother appears very young (She hardly looks thirty.) and works as a waitress. No father is known to live in the home and this was confirmed in conversation with other family members. His uncle said, for instance, "Winston is doing fine in school. We are all trying with him and pool-up to get him anything he wants." This taken with its purely West Indian connotations means that a collective family effort goes into providing for Winston. This phraseology is commonly used when mothers and other extended family members are principally carrying the financial burden in a family.

Winston is adored by his entire family. My observations and extrapolations from conversations lead me to believe that the family has confidence that Winston will achieve great heights through his academic pursuits. Educationally, Winston is hovering somewhere around average. They (family) see Winston as having the opportunity and potential to develop intellectually into some great political figure. They are doing their best to provide the atmosphere whereby Winston can realize his fullest potential.

Most of our conversations (the family and I) revolved around Winston and his chances for a good education. They admire intelligent people and are quick to identify Barbadian political figures who have captured their admiration because of eloquence and educational background. Amid all the planning and dedication towards Winston's success is an unusual family cohesiveness and determination. Uncles and Aunts in particular speak of their love for him and what a good boy he has been. All along, I got the picture of a determined family investing in one of its members who would one day bring them glory and handsome returns.

Winston sits through all of this with smiles and an occasional sentence or two. He has developed a peer-like relationship with his mother, and often addresses her as "Mam", an affectionate term that can assume the formalized "madam" or the pidgin meaning of "mother." The origins of this relationship I have never been able to uncover.

Winston's family is big on hospitality. I found it difficult to conduct my observation because the family found it necessary to give me the royal treatment every time. I had to have a drink, usually after all of the available options had been placed on the table. I was called upon to share my opinions on political and educational matters. I was showed some of the newspapers that recently emerged from the West Indies and asked to comment. Winston usually looked on, or read, or commented on what was being discussed.

This family is a typically West Indian family in transition. They do not have very many friends, and the few they have are of Barbadian descent. One uncle complained to me that it is difficult meeting and relating to people in Center City. He was quick to point out that this is different when it comes to relating to a West Indian. "It's more natural, we understand each other. We speak the same language."

Also difficult was finding places to go for fun (drinking, dancing), but as was indicated to me in this very poignant way, "Life goes on, and some day we will get what we want."

Winston is the only child and his extended family is very supportive of his aspirations. I see parallels between this family and other families I have known, not only West Indian, per se. Usually, as is the case with Winston's relatives, the pattern is established by the first generation that immigrates. They may be poorly educated, but they are hard workers who are progressive and have definite plans for the advancement of their children.

The adults in this home engage in unskilled labor as their means of livelihood. One member is attending school and is assisted financially by the others. Winston values the contributions each member of his extended family makes. He talks of a special relationship with a married aunt who does not live in his home. She tries to give him the things he asks for (pocket money, books, etc.) but she always insists that he be good in school. She warns that if she learns that Winston is not learning his lessons, then her generosity will end.

Winston knows how much his family cares about him and how well he does in school. He indicated to me that he does not want to "let them down (disappoint them)." He would like to study hard and attend Harvard, so that everyone can be proud of him. He cares deeply about his mother and how hard she works to provide for him. At thirteen, he shows concern and compassion for the opposite sex, no doubt a result of his socialization. He thinks his mother works very hard and mothers should not have to go through this. He has a sense of family cohesiveness and is committed to being the family provider some day.

He perceives his family as a close unit, that is constantly striving for a better quality of life, one that has a high commitment to each other. He certainly has a sense of purpose, for he says that when he becomes qualified he will seek to help the unfortunate. To what degree these aspirations grow out of his own circumstance is not clear.

Winston is a determined young man. He has dreams that receive attention and reinforcement. He is told that he can do it, and he knows he has the family's support in fulfilling his dreams.

5. Bill

a. At School

Bill was born in Center City, to parents who have Barbadian roots. He is one of the participants I spent a great deal of time with and got to know the most. In our initial meeting he said to me, "You can study me, if you can keep up with me."

In class, Bill is viewed as a semi-hard worker. He sits close to the teacher's desk. I asked him what this meant. He thought for a moment, then responded, "I get more work done this way."

Today Bill is doing math. He is struggling with a problem in geometry. He stops and looks around at Steven, who does not acknowledge his glance. He reaches into his desk and removes a pile of papers which he shuffles around. He appears not to have accomplished much in this endeavor and returns the papers to their original place in the desk. It takes him about four minutes to refocus on his geometry.

He gets up and goes to Mr. Faulkner. Together they iron out his problem. Mr. Faulkner's eyes are focused on the workbook. Bill writes as Mr. Faulkner speaks. The encounter lasts for about five minutes. Mr. Faulkner is meticulous for detail. The meeting ends and Bill returns to his desk. He continues to work diligently.

Later the same day, in Ms. Lombard's room, Bill sits quietly in the oval-shaped arrangement that the class had been transformed into. Ms. Lombard is at her desk and instructs the students on what to do. It is a history class, and students are expected and encouraged to dramatically imitate the individual or event they are representing. A massacre stimulates mournful cries from students. Few, including Bill, appear to enjoy the lesson, for it is plagued by a kind of seriousness alien to these students, rendering it pretentious. Bill appears to cope by looking straight ahead beyond the walls of the classroom. He puts forth no effort at all, unlike what I have observed in Mr. Faulkner's class. When the exercise requires movement, Bill is haphazard and unenthusiastic. In our discussion later, Bill indicates that, "The class is all right, but there is too much movement and too many orders. No one likes those classes and we all have to take them."

Bill is always punctual and absenteeism appears to be rare. His teacher expressed concern that Bill is not performing to his fullest academic potential; this concern was also echoed by his grandmother.

He is always tidy; he has a soft, confident tone. He is courteous and never passes me without saying hello.

If he dislikes someone or is temporarily annoyed with that person, he does not conceal it. One day the Principal stumbled upon Bill and me in the hallway. He said to Bill, "What are you doing out here this time?" Bill moved to the other side of the hall and mumbled something, simultaneously avoiding the Principal's inquiring look.

Laughter appears to be important to Bill. He tells jokes constantly. He was moved from the rear of the class to the front because on several occasions his laughter was infectious. He complained that his peers tell jokes which make him laugh, and he ends up being disciplined by his teacher. But Bill is quite a popular student, who draws other students to himself, and this seems to result in his "getting into trouble," as he described it.

b. In the Family

Bill was born to racially mixed parents when his father was sixteen years old. The racial climate that prevailed at that time (late sixties) did not provide for open contact between the races (black and white). Consequently, antagonism flourished between paternal and maternal grandparents.

Bill's paternal grandmother complained of having camped outside the maternal grandparents' residence for hours in an effort to communicate her serious intentions about seeing to Bill's welfare, prior to his second birthday. It was mentioned that Bill's mother was a drug addict and her parents, who had young children of their own, did not yet appreciate their cross-racial grandson.

Mrs. Leland, Bill's West Indian grandmother, initiated and won a custody battle, thus becoming Bill's guardian. This occurred when Bill was two years old, so he has grown to know Mr. and Mrs. Leland as his parents. However, the relationship between Bill and his maternal grandmother has improved considerably. The whole family has accepted him and he visits them regularly.

Mr. and Mrs. Leland, whom I will refer to as Bill's parents, show great concern for his development and welfare. They have a super comfortable home and a close relationship with their son. The climate at home is warm, and this exquisite abode is a collective attempt to offer Bill the best in comfort.

Both parents work and all their energy revolves around Bill and his needs. His mother attempts to foster autonomy in Bill, but ends up doing everything for him. She has expressed concern about his inability to be self-sufficient, at least domestically. He is very impatient and avoids household chores by sleeping. This does not present any serious problems in the home because the work gets done by his parents.

As we conversed, the phone rang and Mrs. Leland excused herself. She came back after about two minutes. "I wish these girls would leave Bill alone. They are always calling and I keep telling them Bill isn't at home, and you think they will stop, no? I told one the other day that--she keeps calling and Bill never bothers to call her back--that means he has no interest in her. You think she understands? No! She keeps calling. If only they would leave him alone all will be well."

As the interaction continued, Mrs. Leland expressed her fears about Bill's well-being. He runs the street, and very often she is unaware of his whereabouts. She knows he is aware of drugs because it is all around him in school and in the community. She is confident that he is not experimenting with any.

She also thinks he is aware of sex because of the company he keeps, and the fact that he has many girlfriends. She is not sure whether he is having any sexual relations. She continues to worry about him in many areas. She knows that soon he may begin to ask questions about his identity, his racial and cultural origins. His friends have teased his about being so white when his parents are so dark. She has told him to pay them no attention. She dreads the day when a confrontation will demand that she dwell on the past. She indicates that she will not answer his questions; she would hate to reactivate all that hate, bitterness, and sour memories. She stresses rather vehemently that Bill's real father would have to do it. Bill's real father lives on the second floor of the same house. They interact, but not much.

Bill has a sister --really an aunt-- whom he seldom interacts with, not because of any natural aversion, but simply for lack of time. Bill spends very little time at home. What time is spent at home is characterized by his attending to his personal matters (sleeping, homework, telephone conversations, etc.). He is very impatient and consequently things are done in great haste. The rapport he has with his mother is excellent and their conversational interaction is usually on a mature level.

Bill respects his mother and is, to a degree, afraid of her. She had occasion to be called to his school for a disciplinary problem he was having. It seemed that the fad at the Barber school, among his peers anyway, was to have large sums of money in one's pocket. Mrs. Leland noticed that money around the house had been disappearing (ten and twenty dollar bills), but paid no attention since thievery had not been a problem in that household before. When she was summoned to school in connection with another problem, she learned, to her surprise, that Bill's cash had been stolen. She expressed her ignorance about this breathtaking information, and promised to investigate forthwith upon her return home. The information flowed easily, as Bill stated that he wanted to prove that his mother gives him more money than anyone else. No disciplinary action was taken against him in the home, but he was cautioned in no uncertain terms about this unacceptable manner of acquiring money.

Bill does not like his mother to be called; and what's worse is to have her summoned to his school. Following this episode, he behaved himself for several months. Mrs. Leland told Bill's teacher that he only need mention that he will call her and Bill will straighten up for several weeks.

Bill's mother experiences grave difficulty when it comes to getting him to produce academically. Bill can do better, she was told; he will grow out of his present state of inertia. But her heightened anxiety is well-founded. Bill spends very little time with his books, he detests reading, is yet to demonstrate interest in any academic area, and does not know what he wishes to pursue as a career.

It was amid this kind of background that I engaged in my observations of Bill's behavior. Bill and I walked from class as we had done several times before. He did not seem particularly concerned about his peers today. As we moved along the hallway, Leo called out to him, "Hi, Bill! What you gonna do later?" Bill responded, "I am going home."

We continued along, down the stairs and out into the yard. We joined Winston, Steven, and Charles, who were aimlessly wandering along, seemingly unaware of our presence.

"What you say, coconut?" (Bill to Winston)

"Leave him alone, bean brain!" (Steven to Bill)

An uncomfortable silence gripped Winston, as the rest of the group kicked a soda can along the sidewalk. Not much conversation occurred as we headed down the street. Winston was silent. I tried to be equidistant from Winston and the can-kicking group, as they continued boisterously down the quiet street.

This football activity did not continue for long. Steven was the first one who slowed up -- "See you later, all." He turned off and headed home. Bill and Charles continued on their way. "I am gonna split," and with these words, Charles left. By this time, Winston, Bill and I were on our own. Winston and Bill exchanged no words. Winston is an exceedingly quiet student, and his recent arrival at the Barber school may have something to do with his apparent lack of enthusiasm when associating with his peers. We walked for a block and a half before Winston said "See you tomorrow." "Yeah," Bill retorted.

Bill and I continued on the journey to his house. He walked rather slowly, giving the impression that every step was methodically calculated. I chose not to interrupt verbally, and he did likewise.

As we approached his gate, he looked at me and said, "This is my grandmother's house. Her mother bought it when she first moved to Center City. My grandmother's fixed it up and takes care of it." (His grandmother repaired it.) Bill and I stood by the gate for a while and talked.

"How many brothers and sisters do you have?"

"None."

"You are the only one?"

"Yeah."

"Would you like to have a brother or sister?"

"No."

"Why do you think that is?"

"There is more for me."

"How do you mean that?"

"When my mother takes me shopping, there is more I can get."

"So you can have more things coming to you?"

"Something like that."

"Don't you sometimes feel that you need the company, a brother or sister to play with?"

"I never thought about it; maybe." Bill thought for a moment, and then said "Maybe," again.

Bill and I parted company for that period with an understanding we would meet later at the neighborhood center.

Bill views his parents and his friends as central figures in his life. His mother and father are good providers and as his significant others, he thinks he cannot get along without them. He does not like these two worlds to clash, that of his parents and that of his friends. When he has a social event to attend, and his mother offers to drive him there and pick him up, he refuses because this would be misconstrued by his friends as his being babied. When he takes off without informing his mother where he is going, she usually calls his friends to enquire about him. This infuriates him because, as he says, it embarrasses him.

He thinks he has a great relationship with his parents, especially his mother. She loves him and wants the best for him. He is aware of this and likes it, but he thinks she worries too much and interferes a great deal. Bill thinks that he is grown now, and that he can handle himself maturely.

His mother thinks he is at a crucial age, whereby any number of dangers can befall him. She thinks he is not street-wise like most of his peers, and on account of this, she likes to be aware of what he is doing so that she can intervene before there is any danger. They don't see eye-to-eye in this regard.

Bill is closer to his mother than his father (grandfather), and interacts with her more than anyone else. She takes him shopping and responds to matters dealing with school. Even though his biological father lives downstairs, one can say that they don't have a father-son relationship. Because of the sensitive nature of Bill's situation, and the fact that some things are hidden from him, I chose not to deal with this issue here or with him.

Bill does not think highly of his school and teachers. He thinks the school is Okay. He does not feel that the work is interesting; it's boring, he claims, and the teachers are not exciting. These views parallel those held by his mother. She dwelt more on the teacher issue. She is not satisfied with Bill's academic progress. In response to her concerns and anxieties, one teacher told her that Bill would grow out of his present state of disinterest. She was not satisfied with this, particularly since it has not happened. It seems to me that dissatisfaction with what the school delivers or fails to deliver is a constant source of anxiety within the family.

"Bill is a decent child from a good home, and I don't want him ending up in the wrong company."

"Yes, I understand."

"I still feel the pain of what I went through with his father. And I am not going to let anything like that happen to Bill. That's why I tell him all the time to let me know where he is. I can't sleep at night when he is out. I jump up all the time. His father doesn't carry the burden that I do. I wish he would spend more time at home."

To me, these words echoed the concern and worry that is a part of Mrs. Leland's daily life. She no doubt wants the best for her grandson and sees this happening by her close involvement and supervision. Bill is growing and he wants to assert his independence. Most of his friends do and the pressure put on him to conform. He does yield to this pressure, as indeed he must as a natural part of growing up. And when he does, this induces anxiety in his mother who does not quite see or understand the developmental aspects of his behavior. But somehow a great deal of conflict does not emerge from this; either it is tempered by love, or she understands but finds it necessary to go through the ritual. But of all the parents I have met and interacted with, Mrs. Leland seemed to have thought through carefully the possible negative impact of the environment on her son. Amidst her worry and anxiety is a rational base which encompasses the harsh realities of life in Center City.

Teenage pregnancy is on the rise, inter-racial mixing is on the upswing, drug usage is rampant in the streets and in schools. Mrs. Leland has had experiences in one or more of these areas, and she is acutely aware of her own natural aversion to these dangers. She seemed bent on protecting Bill from the jaws of evil that lurk in the neighborhood.

The home is where she would like Bill to spend most of his time. She showed me a variety of video-electronic games that she had bought for Bill in an effort to get him to concentrate on more home-oriented activities. She is concerned that he is confused and doesn't know what he wants to do with his life, especially career-wise. She has had many talks with him about what he is going to do with his life. She has even confronted him with the reality that she would one day retire from her job and he would be in a "boat" (precarious position) regarding the support and upkeep of himself.

Mrs. Leland, more than her husband, seems to carry the emotional burden of Bill's wellbeing. "He is confused" she repeatedly said to me. "He does not know what he wants to do. I have observed, questioned, suggested, and even threatened, but to no avail. It has not helped him in moving closer to a career goal."

His mother has thought of placing him in a private school, but she hesitates because it may turn out to be a waste of money. She nevertheless continues to be good to him, buys him what he wants and needs, sends him to school clean and tidy, and hopes that all will be fine. "If only Bill can find what he wants and be good at it," is her usual comment.

She is looking forward to the summer, because Bill is expecting a summer job. He is scheduled to work in a Court office in Center City, a job his older uncle secured for him. She hopes he will find something he likes and stick with it. He is not very close to his uncle, but they see each other occasionally.

6. Leo

a. At School

Leo was born in Boston, but his grandparents are from Barbados. He readily agreed to participate in the study and was anxious to tell his parents about it. On the day I visited room 303, Leo was at his desk writing. From a distance of about eight feet we simultaneously raised our hands in a gesture of friendship (the Black fist).

Leo kept on writing and was visited by a female peer. They chatted for a while. A third student came to his desk and a three-way conversation sprang up. They quickly dispersed as the teacher finished her business with another student and rose from the table. Leo continued to work, but looked up regularly.

His concentration appeared to be broken after ten minutes. He got up and moved to the rear of the class where two peers were standing. For a few seconds he stood idly by. It was not long before he actively participated in the conversation. The trio continued until they were interrupted by their teacher. They returned to their seats and began a class assignment.

b. An Afternoon at the Neighborhood Center

Leo sat at his desk and attended to a book that was open in front of him. He appeared to be aware of the noisy environment that surrounded him, for he looked up periodically. For brief moments he chatted with his neighbors, Victor and Joanne. He left his desk for about five minutes and was seen holding a cupboard door. He wandered off to the window section of the classroom and began talking to a female peer. When he finally returned to his desk he began a frantic search for his paper-punch. He almost turned his desk up-side-down. He threw up his hands in disgust. He continued to unpack his books noisily; books and papers were on his desk and papers were on the floor as he continued cleaning. As dismissal time approached he began stuffing papers back into his desk. He picked up those on the floor and threw them into the waste paper basket.

Leo left school for the day with a few books in his hand. He ran into many friends in the hallway. He meandered along the crowded hallway, often coming to a complete halt to either talk or await his turn in the exiting process. I kept as close as I could to Leo, without really violating his space.

We arrived at the first floor accompanied by a group of boisterous youngsters who looked elated by this routine acquisition of freedom. Leo headed out the door without waiting for, or saying goodbye, to anyone. We walked along the crowded sidewalk where it became quieter.

"How were things at school today?" I inquired.

"Pretty good," he replied.

The short block and a half were almost completed.

I spoke again: "What are your plans for this evening?"

"I don't know. If my mother lets me, I will be at the center."

With this we parted.

I went to the center but found no one from my research group. I settled on a sofa in the common room and looked over my field notes for the day.

Suddenly, there was a noisy influx of youngsters. It must have been a dozen or so youngsters who flooded the building. Some headed for the basement, others the gymnasium and yet others the common room. I searched the accessible areas of the center, but did not find Leo or any of the other participants. I inquired about Leo, but was unable to secure any information about his whereabouts. As I was returning from the painting room, I ran into Victor and Leo. They had just entered the building and were checking in with the floor supervisor.

Victor went to the basketball court and Leo headed for the basement. I decided to follow Leo. Leo caught a youngster's head under his arm and would not let go despite the victim's protests. The armlock did not appear to be dangerously tight, but the youngster protested vehemently. A junior counselor interceded on the youngster's behalf and Leo let him go. The counselor scolded Leo and told him not to interfere with the youngster again. Leo walked away and shook his head indicating he understood.

Victor had now joined Leo and together they took a seat at a corner table in the game room. They were joined by another lad and a game of junkyard began. Leo shot the "boggle chips" and the game was in full swing. The third youth stood idly as Leo and Victor played. Victor appeared to be in deep concentration while Leo scribbled repeatedly on a pad and laughed. The game stopped abruptly. Leo ran off and was followed by Victor. They returned after about a minute and the game resumed. "I am back fresh" yelled Leo. Once again Victor was in deep concentration. Leo was making all kinds of unusual sounds. "Yeah, buzzi, buzzi. This one is mine. We can take it." Victor did not pay any attention to Leo, as he continued his shouting. Leo suddenly turned the desk into a drum. He was beating louder and disrupting the game. The third player was the first to get up. Victor followed. The game had ended short of its completion. Leo chased Victor around the basement. They stumbled over a stack of toys in the toy room. A few younger kids looked up in amusement. They ran upstairs into the gym area.

When I got upstairs, Leo and Victor were standing near each other. As I joined them, we were also joined by Bill. "The girls game is off," Leo informed Bill

"How come they are not playing?" Bill inquired.

"I don't know. They told me it's called off."

Bill left without saying anything. Victor followed him. Leo grabbed a basketball and began bouncing it. The junior counselor was in the doorway looking at Leo disapprovingly. He spoke to Leo after about forty-five seconds of observation. "You know better than that."

Leo looked up and seemed displeased by the counselor's presence. "Better than what?" Leo replied.

"Balls on the court only." Leo looked at him, ignored him for a brief moment, and then threw the ball onto the court.

He ran onto the court where he resumed bouncing the ball. A practice game which was in progress seemed to cause him to abandon his own effort. By this time it had become dark and most of the young people had left or were leaving. Leo called out to a young peer, "What's happening?" The young man replied, "Nothing much." Leo ran up the ramp towards the common room. He took his coat and headed for the door. Our company parted for that day when he said, "See you tomorrow."

c. Reflections on Leo's Home Life

Leo is a serious and reserved youngster. Even though he plays on his way home from school, he does not linger like most of his peers. He hurries home as though there is some penalty if he does not. Many times when I attempted to engage him in conversations after school, he insisted that he had to go. I did not know what to make of this so I asked him if he had sometning important to do after school at home.

He said, "No." But went on to add that his mother likes him to come straight home after school. Another thing that puzzled me was his manner whenever I accompanied him home. When we approached his building, he exhibited gestures of dismissal or goodbye. He appeared reluctant to have me follow him on several occasions. On those occasions when I accompanied him from the ground floor to his third floor apartment, the interaction switched so rapidly that I was dumbfounded. Leo did not speak, and it was as if I were not there.

We would go up to his door, I would follow him, and once at the door he would say "Bye!" and leave. This happened at least four or five times. We even stood briefly at the door and talked, but never was I invited in. Sometimes when we were together, some of the other students would mention that I had visited their homes. Once Bill asked, "Leo, when are you going to have Mr. McKenzie over?" Leo shrugged his shoulders and said, "I don't know."

All of this was not making sense to me. I did not want to confront Leo with my perceptions and observations, but thought I should ask him when I might be able to come over. But before I did, I wanted to check things out just once more.

The day before this intended check out, I was at Bill's house and got into a conversation with his mother. She wanted to know how I was coming along and if I was getting the cooperation of all parents. She seemed particularly interested in Leo and described him as a "poor thing." I inquired as to what she meant. She revealed that Leo had received some severe floggings from his mother and that this was common knowledge. Also, I learned that Leo's mother had had several episodes of psychiatric problems and had been treated medically. This was valuable information because it somehow confirmed my hypothesis that something was indeed strange. My intention now was to meet with Leo's parents to get permission to enter the home for observation.

I asked Leo to ask his mother to suggest a good time for me to drop by to chat with her. Twice I reminded Leo, and he did not have an answer for me. The third time I checked with him, a week and a half after I had asked him to bring it up to his mother, he told me that she could not see me during the week because she was tired after work. He said he did not know about the week-end, but that he was going to check. The family has no phone, and I was trying not to be pushy, so I relied on Leo.

488

A week went by and Leo had no answer for me. He said he had forgotten. I told him I was going to stop by on the weekend to see his mom. So, that Saturday afternoon I stopped by as I had promised. I knocked several times on the door, but there was no response. A radio was playing and I could smell the aroma of fried chicken coming from the apartment. It was approaching twelve minutes, but I kept knocking every so often. Finally someone came to the door. After exchanging the necessary social niceties, I learned that this was Frankie's mother. She is of dark complexion, in her early fifties, and a jovial, slightly overweight, well-spoken person. She explained that the radio had been playing, and she was in the kitchen preparing food for a party Leo was to attend that afternoon.

I explained to her who I was, and asked if it would be Okay to stop in a few times to sit and chat with Leo. She said she thought it might be fine, but right now Leo was busy with other things, and she was working, which made it kind of difficult right now. She hinted that possibly later, when it had begun to warm up. This was in April -- and I supposed she meant June or July.

This was a crushing blow to my efforts, but I continued to see Leo in the community, mostly at the center.

As I observed Leo's behavior, he gave the impression that he lacks spontaneity. It appears that he is not really motivated by forces from within himself, but by external forces. Even when he is playing with his peers he seems to be psychologically someplace else. This was clearly exemplified in a game that Clyde, Leo, Victor and another youngster were playing,

It was a card game involving two opposing teams. Winning required teamwork, observation of opponents' strategies, and countering them.

So a great degree of cohesiveness and interdependence were required of same-team members, a kind of psychological closeness. Unity around tasks was also necessary and present, as I noticed, in the team that opposed Leo and Clyde.

Leo and Clyde's team was losing miserably and not without reason. "Come on, Leo!" Clyde would say when it came his turn. "Look at the game!" he kept saying to Leo. Leo's eyes followed what was taking place, but he was someplace else. For the duration of the game (twenty-five minutes), Leo's attention seemed elsewhere, and Clyde did not hesitate to call on him repeatedly to concentrate on the game.

This was not something new for me to observe about Leo. At the center, during basketball practice games, he very often checked with me regarding the time. This must mean something, and I hypothesized from the report about his mother's rigidity that maybe he has to conform to very strict deadlines about being home when he is outside playing.

I confronted him in an effort to make sense of these observations. I did this by pointing out to him that it seems as though he is always concerned about time. He did not respond immediately; he thought for a moment and then said, "Yeah." So I inquired further: "Could you tell me some more about this?"

"My mother lets me out of the house to play, but I have to get in early to do my schoolwork and help around the house."

"So what happens if you don't get back on time?"

"Nothing. She gets mad at me."

"When she gets mad at you what happens?"

"Nothing." He thought for a moment and then said, "I may get grounded."

"What do you mean?" I inquired.

"I won't get to come out for a few days."

"And how does that make you feel?"

"Not too good."

Leo summed it up himself and I will embellish it by suggesting that he appears to be lacking in self-esteem. He frequently talks about his inability to be successful at the things he does. It is not evident where this lack of self-confidence originated. I never secured entry into his home, so the dynamics of his family interactions were never observed. He gives the impression of being marginal in his involvements, always he seems on the periphery of what is occurring.

He likes and enjoys his friends. Most of them know that he does not always get to come out, and they seem to accept this. He is liked despite his inconsistencies in terms of not always being with his peer group or having to leave when they are engaged in some important activity.

When asked what he looks forward to in the future, Leo almost instantly talks about getting to and through high school. Further exploration of this revealed that he is after the independence associated with high school completion. He has at least five years until high school graduation, so I became interested in why the haste, why was his mind already five years down the road? But, our conversations did not yield much in understanding this topic. He talked rather disjointedly of wanting to have school over with, and wanting to do different things because there are many things yet to do. So we moved in a circle without any definitive conclusion.

Leo takes school seriously and may indeed be one of the best students in his class. He works hard academically, and even though he takes time off for in-class socializing, he is a well-behaved and responsible student. He responds to his teacher's questions with confidence, and his in-class decorum is admirable. He seems to be in control when in the classroom, and his spirits appear high.

The contrast between Leo's classroom behavior and his demeanor in extracurricular activities is striking. The classroom appears to legitimize what he does, and who he is; his being seems to take on new meaning in this environment. He is more spontaneous, less uptight, and more self-directed, compared to how he behaves on the playground.

Working with Leo was a pleasure. The experience was filled with personal satisfaction, mostly because of the high quality of our interpersonal relationship. It raised an interesting issue involving "ethical neutrality."

No doubt, Leo finds himself in a predicament that forces him to grow up faster than his peers. It is a situation, or more precisely a dilemma, that is brought about by environmental rather than personal factors. It has to do with his home environment, and the possibility that he may be physically and psychologically abused. The situation is a matter of public knowledge, one that outsiders know about by piecing things together, rather than from some explicit or observable interaction.

Leo and I have talked around the issue, but because of his obvious discomfort, I desisted from extracting anything from him. This affected our relationship because he wanted someone to talk to, he needed someone to relate to; but these impulses were accompanied by a kind of fear or nervousness (maybe he would be discovered), that gave rise to game playing, facades, and at times, superficial interactions.

Having sensed this, I was able to reassure him that he was safe with me, and he did not have to talk about things that he didn't feel comfortable dealing with. This brought a tremendous relief and release, and our relationship took on a different form and course. Leo became more relaxed, he appeared less fragmented and more alive.

Some participant observation researchers have questioned to what degree should a researcher participate in the unlawful acts of the group under study? Various answers have emerged, but no general consensus exists, as far as I am aware. My question on "ethical neutrality" involves the same domain. How neutral should a researcher be, or what ethics should be employed when reasonably sure that the rights of another individual are being violated? No guidelines, as far as I am aware, exist for dealing with this situation. One's conscience must dictate.

As I engaged in soul-searching, I decided that the first law is to be sure of one's charges. A major concern must be the adequacy of the data in one's possession on the specific issue. Does it have to be a blatant violation before action is taken? Well, in this case, I was more angry than anything else. I also asked myself what consequences would result for the student if I acted and was unable to sustain my charges, or if my initiative did not result in the removal of the victim from his harmful environment? Would he be in better or worse condition?

Correct answers do not immediately suggest themselves. To remain distant is not always the best solution. To get involved and to advocate on behalf of the victim can often be counterproductive. This was the dilemma that presented itself to me. Had the situation been different, a counseling interaction, for instance, maybe my behavior would have been different. But in "letting sleeping dogs lie," I may have done the best thing, or maybe not. The dilemma still haunts me.

My efforts to enter Leo's home were fruitless. I was never given a clear refusal, only subtle hints that maybe it wasn't the best thing to do. Often during the phase of gaining the entry to homes, I was tempted to say to the parents, "Now cut the bull shit! I see your game: why can't you come out and say 'No! We don't want you in our home!'" But no, in these circumstances, there has to be a facade or part of a game. The British are notorious for game-playing, all in the name of politeness. You can't be direct, you need to dress your answer up, disguise it; no one should "call a spade a spade."

It may be presumptuous to suggest that I failed to be admitted because ther was something to hide at Leo's house, i.e., the widely accepted, but unproven charges of abuse. The proposal is tantamount to the "fox calling the grapes sour," because I could not gain entry. Suffice it to say that I believe a prodigious amount of data was lost by my being unable to observe in the home setting.

7. Victor

a. At School

Victor was born in Center City, but his grandparents are from Barbados. Victor is a small-statured youngster, quite short and light for his age. He is friendly and obedient as exemplified by his willingness to do things for his teacher and his peers. Victor is for the most part a quiet individual. Often he gives the impression of being unconcerned about events occurring around him. As I got acquainted with him and his family structure, I understood that his upbringing is to some degree responsible for this apparent indifference to events as they unfold around him. The West Indian cultural influence is what I am talking about here. Victor very seldom invades the privacy of others. He waits to be invited before participating even in a conversation, especially with adults.

In class, he moves around moderately. Today, for instance, he left his desk only once in a half-hour period. He spent some time at Clyde's desk. They are friends and neighbors in the community. They talk several times in class each day.

Victor wanders off and in this process he stops to talk with a peer. They arm wrestle for a while, but are disturbed by the teacher before a winner could emerge. Victor is also a hard worker. I have watched him tackle math problems with the intensity and determination with which he plays the drums at music practice. He would sit and work laboriously. Today, for instance, Victor kept struggling with a math problem. He did some calculations, wrote, cancelled what he wrote, wrote again and finally sought his teacher's help. He returned to his desk after about three minutes with the teacher. He began to write again. He appeared less intense but quite determined to solve the mathematical problem.

A few moments elapsed and Victor was still working with the math problems. Finally, he closed his books and placed them in his desk drawer. I was to learn later that he had been working on a series of problems and had experienced difficulty with some. However, he had completed more than was required of him that day, so he retired when the going got rough.

Participation observation research can place one at a disadvantage in acquiring certain data. For instance, the position from which one observes may cause one to perceive an occurrence in ways other than those in which it is actually happening. It is essential that the fieldworker clarify (post facto) with the respondent what did in reality occur or what s/he was doing that may have been missed.

On the next observation day, Victor was seated at his desk working when I entered the classroom. He was frequently interrupted by his peers and took time off from his assignments to chat with them. He appeared to be a popular student, judging from the many visits he received. Within a ten minute period, Victor talked to three visitors and made two visits of his own. He can be playful at times. I observed two students, in separate interactions, touching his hands and rubbing his neck and back. This notwithstanding, Victor makes time for his class assignments.

As the end of the day approached, Victor cleared the top of his desk and packed some books neatly inside. Once classes were dismissed, he made his way out of the crowded building without lingering. Not much was said as he made his way out. Some students called out at him but these greetings did not result in conversations.

Victor and I left the school and embarked on the two-block walk to his home. He is usually quiet when I am around and gives one-syllable responses when asked a question.

"How were things at school today?"

"Fine."

"Did you enjoy classes today?"

"Yeah.'

"Anything different happen in class today?"

"No, the same old stuff."

Our conversation came to an end as we approached Victor's gate.

"When can I see you again?"

"I don't know. I got spelling to do today."

With this Victor said "Bye" and left.

I went to the center and found Clyde already there. We greeted each other and Clyde explained that he was expecting Victor and Leo. I sat with Clyde as he watched television. Clyde appeared immobilized by the absence of his close companions. He did not go to the gym, nor did he join his peers in the basement. When Leo showed up, Clyde was obviously delighted. "What happened to you?" Clyde inquired. Leo shrugged his shoulders and said, "Couldn't come before now." With this, they headed to the basketball court. The crowd at the practice game was huge. Kids were running around screaming and yelling The noise seemed excessive. The crowd included students from the Barber school and the high school. Clyde and Leo stood by watching the crowd as it swelled. They were talking to the group and viewing the game simultaneously.

Leo and Clyde retained membership in this group for about twenty-five minutes. Clyde was the first to leave, followed by Leo, five minutes later. The high school youngsters had been expressing fears about an upcoming basketball game. Leo and Frank made little contribution to the entire conversation.

b. At Home

I met Victor on the street a few yards from his home. He walked me to the door and offered to let me in while he put his bicycle away. I suggested that he put his bicycle away while I waited for him.

He rejoined me after a brief absence and we headed upstairs. Mrs. Miller called out to us and before long we were joined by her. She shared with me a newsletter that described a project having to do with Black and White students at the Barber school. It was something to do with a cultural-educational project aimed at racial harmony.

Our conversation was about race and prejudice. Mrs. Miller told us about a four-year old White student she had in kindergarten. She reported that the child refused to sit next to a Black student, as he had been instructed. When the parents came to pick the child up that evening, she complained and got no satisfaction. The parents vehemently denied teaching the child such behavior, but insisted that their child should be allowed to do what he wanted, if no one was harmed in the process.

As she spoke of this past event, she seemed emotionally traumatized. This pointed to the fact that if the child behaved that way at such a young age, it must come from the home. And to argue that the child be allowed to do what he wanted was the "straw that broke the camel's back." She evidently saw through the parents facade and was still infuriated by it.

At this point she turned to Victor and continued her remarks. "We have lived in this community for many years, and we have had racial tensions. It has gotten bad in the last few years. This would not be good for the students. I teach my child not to hate: all people are good and bad. You have to find the good in people, which is in all races. Parents must teach their children not to hate on the basis of race."

Victor was looking at his mother intently. He must have heard this before; in all my associations with him, the race issue never came up. He spoke to the White students in his class; but I don't think he has any White friends.

We have talked about race and prejudice, but usually such conversations do not get very far. For him, race mixing only occurs in the school environment, where it is superficial and structured. He is certainly aware of racial differences and prejudice. The latter he defines as a dislike for one of another race, but deep racial disharmony issues are alien to him. He has a kind of openness that allows one to think that he has not had any negative race encounters, and his home environment has exposed him to the positive things about race relations in this country.

This has its positive and negative consequences. For one thing, Victor may indeed have a rude awakening when hit with racism and blatant prejudice. On the positive side, not being fed negative things about race relations here in America may indeed prevent his being hung-up on race. Thus, when a denial of opportunity strikes him, he will be able to level-headedly analyze, reflect and get undistorted information about whether it's something "out there" (prejudiced people) or something inside, e.g., his attitude, behavior, educational deficiencies, etc., that is getting in his way.

Victor is the kind of person one can become attached to. He is easy-going and quiet. I have no notes of him offending anyone, inadvertently or otherwise. He is charming and likeable. He has a great relationship with his mother. He is trusted by her and his judgement is respected.

Victor gets along with his friends, probably because he is intelligent, sensitive, out-going, and generous. I spent a great deal of time with him and at his home. He is not an enigma, and getting to know him can be quite easy. He does not like to be overwhelmed; this causes him to withdraw. He does not impose himself, his feelings, or his opinions on others. He is mannerly, considerate, and a fine youngster.

He was always on time for our meetings, and never failed to return my phone calls. According to my records, his personal data questionnaire was the first to be completed and returned.

Victor is not aggressive. He is low-keyed, and this seems to work for him. If there are any negative sides to this boy, they certainly did not surface in my dealings with him.

Here is a young man whose home climate is conducive to healthy intrapersonal and interpersonal development. He is offered a home climate that can and should enhance his performance in school.

If one is looking for congruencies between home and school climates that seem likely to enhance educational attainment, then the Miller's home environment, in my opinion, should dovetail with the school's in just that way.

This student is exposed to a variety of positive behaviors within his household that Victor clearly responds to favorably. It would be interesting to find out what impressions his teachers have had of him over the years.

On another afternoon, I waited for Victor in the hallway. As soon as school was dismissed, some classed moved through the hallway quietly, others trotted, yet others were boisterous. It was difficult to make my way towards Victor. When I managed to reach him we were on the ground floor. We walked out of the school compound accompanied by one of Victor's peers. We walked along for a brief moment before the youngster branched off for his home. "See you by the Center, Victor," he said. "I am coming at four."

We continued on our way to Victor's home. No words were exchanged. I asked Victor how his day was.

"Fine."

"Did you do anything different or unusual today?"

"No, the same old stuff."

In class, Victor is usually active, both verbally and physically. I have begun to notice that he is generally quiet when we interact in the field. Even when his peers are around he does not verbalize a great deal. When we got into his home, Victor offered me a seat and left to change his clothes.

Victor is a member of working middle-class family. His father is a shipper, who is seldom home. Mrs. Miller works in the kindergarten wing of the Barber School. Victor also has an older sister who is an elementary school teacher.

Mrs. Miller exhibited interest in the project from the moment she learned about it. I was asked to come by and see her the day after I met with Victor. She listened intently and gave her approval almost immediately. We have talked regularly since.

Victor and I were sitting in the living room when Mrs. Miller came in: "Hello, Mr. McKenzie!" I responded and then thanked her for allowing Victor to be a part of our study. This was my first visit to the Miller's home and this recognition was in order and reassuring.

Mrs. Miller inquired if Victor had something to eat. He indicated he had. She left after telling me to be comfortable. Victor and I resumed our small talk about sports and school matters.

I came to this research project with a psychological background. Consequently, I am aware that my presence in the home of a family cannot be inobtrusive, that it undoubtedly influences and alters the behavior of family members. It would not be unreasonable to expect that parents would want their children to exhibit circumspect behavior.

I felt and observed this to be true. The spontaneity that flowed in our out-of-home interactions was lacking once I entered the home, more so when parents and older siblings were part of the scene.

My familiarity with West Indian culture prepared me for a variety of culturally-related behavior, especially in response to my presence as an observer. I was not quite sure how to circumvent this problem. I did, however, try to put families at ease. I emphasized and re-emphasized that my interest was not to evaluate any aspect of the home situation, but merely to understand the climate in the home.

At one home, for instance, a parent participated in a forty-five minute session with her son, which left my respondent visibly shaken. She commented on his speaking habits, the way he sat, and his unusual mannerisms. I am convinced that this is not the usual behavior of this family. My presence seemed to elicit such behaviors.

For the remainder of the time, Victor and I stood by the gate to the yard, and he played with two small children from next door.

Victor resisted the idea of going to the center this evening, because he had a heavy load of homework. He wanted to "chill out" (relax and revitalize himself) before settling to do these assignments.

Victor and I spent several minutes outside and nothing eventful occurred. It seems that when he is playing with his classmates on the field or at the center, more emerges both verbally and nonverbally. Even though he is not intimidated by his mother's presence, very little comes out in the form of conversation. He would answer any question I put to him, usually monosyllabically.

Victor indicated to me that he was going upstairs to start his homework. I decided to go with him. Victor's bedroom is off from the living rooms. He got his books and sat in the living room as he did his work. Sometimes he works in his room, but he thought since I was there he would work outside.

Victor began to do his homework. For the first fifteeen minutes or so, he was immersed in his math; occasionally he would look up at me and smile. Mrs. Miller came out and inquired if we wanted something to drink. We said we did and she brought us some Koolaid. Victor continued to work, but stopped intermittently to drink his Koolaid.

He did not speak, but occasionally he would hiss and throw his hands out, as if in disgust, but he would continue to work. He continued to work throughout the time I was there. When I was leaving, he indicated to me that he was nearing completion.

Victor occupies a special place, the younger child living at home, in the Miller family. He knows that his older sister is grown and that she has chosen to leave. He says she does not visit often enough, even though he sees her often in the community; it is not the same, he admits. The family is close, they do many things together, but Victor seems to be aware that at one time there was an additional person around and he probably remembers and cherishes those memories.

His parents foster independence in Victor. He is given the freedom to come and go as he pleases, but often I have observed him keeping his mother abreast of his activities. He has to observe a stipulated time for getting home at night. His independence can be illustrated in many ways. He has his own key to the house; he locks up in the morning and lets himself in in the evening. He chooses his own clothes to wear most days. He is allowed to make important decisions that pertain to himself. He is even consulted in important family decisions. Victor feels that he is an important part of the family decision-mechanism. He is treated in a very mature way by his mother. Instead of saying, "Victor, you will have to do this or that," the message usually is "What do you think of this?" or "How would you like to do this?" I get the sense that the feelings, opinions and concerns of Victor are highly regarded in the home.

Victor perceives his family as a caring, sharing and lovable group. Though they are strict when it comes to his academic work, he is not burdened by the books. He is encouraged to be responsible in academic matters, and sometimes his parents have to get stern with him regarding his lessons; but for the most part, he attends to his work. He is an average student; consequently, he sometimes has to work harder and for longer hours than some of his peers. There are no restrictions on his play activity. He is expected to come home after school, have a snack and then attend to his homework. If time is then available before dinner, he then goes to the center for play activity.

Victor has a well-defined sense of who he is. His academic goals are not clear; to some degree he takes each day as it comes. He tries to master academic problems as they emerge, but he is not quite sure of what they all amount to. He has a somewhat short-term perspective; he focuses on the here and now, and just lets things naturally unfold. It is not quite complacency, nor is it nonchalance; it appears to be a one-day-at-a-time attitude

His friends are important to him, indeed they are an integral part of his world. He makes time for them both at school and at the center. He has indicated to me that he likes and enjoys his friends. On weekends he may interact with his peers on Saturday, but Sunday is usually spent at home, apart from attending church and infrequent visits to family friends. So, on Mondays he is usually anxious to see and interact with his peers.

He could not recall for me anyone that did not like him at the Barber School or in his neighborhood. Most of the kids he said are "Okay" though some are "stupid." From my observations he appears to be popular. Most students, even the older ones, call out to him frequently.

8. Sam

a. At School

Sam is an eleven-year-old sixth grader, born in Center City and of Jamaican extraction. He appears to be a happy-go-lucky youngster who is often in a relaxed mood. He pays attention to his lessons but gives the appearance of boredom. His membership in the remedial reading group appeared to make him uncomfortable. He carried a frown on his face, and displayed unwillingness when his turn came to read. He scratched his head, looked around, hesitated, and then began reading inaudibly. Once he got started, he appeared to gain momentum and his heart was in the exercise. With seemingly great enthusiasm, he completed his turn. He remained very quiet while the others read, his eyes roaming the classroom. Sam ignored the teacher's warnings to follow in his textbook, choosing to remain non-participatory. Once again the frown appeared on his face.

Following the reading exercise, Sam returned to the larger class where he immediately engaged in what appeared to be non-related class activity. He took out a few sheets of paper from his desk which he carefully concealed and passed to a peer. His peer placed them in his desk and was observed peeping into his desk. Sam told me later that the papers were some drawings he brought from home. They were not vulgar, but he feared his teacher would confiscate them so he did not take any chances.

My visit with this sixth-grader continued into a second hour. Sam was attentive as his teacher spoke to the class. When the class was left to work on its own, he performed well. He was studious, attended to his work, and resisted the temptation to idle.

On my second visit, Sam sat quietly at his desk and looked straight at the teacher. He tapped his neighbor on the leg; but the neighbor ignored him and continued transcribing from a textbook. Sam's neighbor eventually looked up and they chatted briefly. Sam got up and moved to the window. He picked up Rupert (a stuffed dummy), and walked back to his desk. He placed Rupert on the desk in a kind of public display. He continued his act with Rupert, sitting him down on the desk of some students and placing him in the faces of others. None of the students registered a complaint with the teacher.

Sam examined Rupert intently. He meandered in the vicinity of the teacher's desk. His aimlessness caught the teacher's eyes. She ordered Sam to return Rupert to the window. He hesitated briefly, but complied with the order.

Sam returned to his desk, but within minutes he was again wandering around the classroom. He appeared more committed to his work when under supervision. Without it, he frequently got up from his desk and went off unannounced. Some of his activities around the classroom I can only describe as "pseudo-scholarly investigative behavior." For example, he read the globe or the charts on the wall. He browsed through books in the classroom library.

I asked him what all this meant, and he responded, "Fun." He rejected my suggestion that this "pseudoscholarly behavior" was a strategy aimed at concealing his mischief.

This second visit concluded my observations of Sam in the classroom setting. It was followed by an unstructured interview aimed at bringing some closure to this phase of the study.

My interviews were not clinical in nature. They occurred most frequently after rapport had been established. They allowed me to clarify and sort my hunches about the respondent and gave him an opportunity to confirm or deny my ideas about him.

b. A Sheltered Adolescence

Sam's home was one of the most difficult to penetrate. All indications were that the family was willing to have me study Sam in all three locations (home, school, neighborhood). My first set of notes described him in the school setting.

The first time I visited his home, his mother greeted me on the veranda. I was not invited in, but we chatted out there for several minutes. I explained who I was and reminded her of the permission slips and project explanation letters we had sent to her. She acknowledged all that I was saying as having occurred.

The next issue involved my coming to the house to interact with Sam. She was very emphatic in making me aware that this would not be possible. Mrs. Leighton did not say I was not welcome in the home. She indicated that Sam was so busy that my coming into the home would somehow prevent him from accomplishing things at home.

"Ho, ho!" I interrupted. "I am not coming to interfere with his work or that of the family. I am only going to sit around, so that

I can get a feel for the family interactions; I will only observe your family, that's all. I am not evaluating, judging the family or anything like that." I found her to be a very articulate woman; she looked me straight in the eyes as she spoke. Her British West Indian accent brought an unusual emphasis to her words. She continued, "Sam has lots of things to do at home and on week-ends we go to church and visit our family. You can see him in school and when he is outside." With this last remark, I was convinced that she did not want me in the home. Sam very seldom plays in the street or at the center. In fact, I recall seeing him only once outside of his home, talking with two friends.

I explained to Mrs. Leighton that the school was the place we made contact with students and that the observations in the classroom were for that purpose; consequently, the most meaningful observations for our purposes will occur in the home and community. I also pointed out to her that I had not seen Sam at the center very often, or on the playground. Thus, I was concerned that in the crucial areas of the home and community I might not be able to work with him. She shook her head as if to say, we do have a problem; I watched and waited, giving her a chance to process and digest what I had said. The silence was becoming uncomfortable. "Well, I don't know what to say," I finally allowed. My intention was not to corner her or box her in. When I was sure that she would yield nothing else, I decided to give her some extra time; maybe this would facilitate movement in the right direction. So I said to her, "I understand I may have caught you by surprise and you may need some time to think this over." It was now her chance to respond and maybe get us out of the stalemate. Thirty seconds elapsed and she was still thinking. When she spoke, it was softer than the tone to which I had grown accustomed.

"Maybe we should talk again about this." With this, I thanked her and asked if I could speak with Sam. She did not seem pleased by this request, but said, "Certainly." At this point she left me standing outside as she retreated inside. From where I stood, I could see inside the apartment. The kitchen was very tidy, located off a modest living room. No signs of affluence were evident, but the comfort of a low-to-middle income family were evident.

In a sense this was a humiliating experience, the way the resistance manifested itself. I concluded that the decision had been made that I was not welcome in this home. I was an outsider, an intruder. I suspected that my conclusions might be premature. If they felt strongly about my not coming into their home, then they should communicate this in precise terms. As long as this was not done, my chances of eventual entry remained alive. So I decided to stick with it.

I was lost in my own thinking for three or four minutes before Sam came out. He said, "Hello," and I returned the greeting. I asked him how he was feeling and he responded with an "Okay." From where we stood, I could see his mother sitting; she was in hearing distance of us. Convinced that she was listening, I increased the volume of my speech, so that she would hear me, but not realize that I wanted her to do so.

Sam looked different and was behaving in an unusual manner. He is normally an energetic youngster, but he stood motionless against the wall. He avoided my eyes and his speech at times was inaudible. I wondered if his mother had said something to him before he came outside, or if it was her virtual presence that induced this behavior. It was an awkward situation.

I did not want to say anything that would further alienate us. I wanted to inquire if something was wrong, but I suspected that would escalate the anxiety and jeopardize my quest to enter the home. I thought it might be prudent to tell him my reasons for coming and summarize what his mother and I had dwelled on.

So I said to him that I had been chatting with his mom about my stopping by the home a few times, as part of my effort towards understanding something about his family. I reemphasized that this was not an evaluation or a way of putting the family on trial, etc., but just a way of understanding how the family is when they are together--part of the learning process, I added. I was trying to choose my words carefully, not wanting to offend anyone or to heighten anxieties.

Sam nodded his head in agreement. His smile never appeared, he did not ask questions, he did not come close or display his curiosity or any of those things to which I had grown accustomed from our in-class and our out-of-class interactions. This must be difficult for him, I thought. So I switched the subject in the hope of placing him at ease. "How are your friends, Edward and Roger?"

"Okay, I guess."

He seemed not to have budged, and my reaction was: it's time to move on. So I asked if he were going to see them over the week-end. He said he did not know. I allowed a few seconds to go by before thanking him for the time he had spent talking to me. I asked him to express my thanks to his mother for talking with me. With this, I said goodbye and left.

I was curious about this occurrence. I needed to make sense of it. Was Sam's mother rigid or over-protective? Was she just plain strict? Did he have freedom to play, to enjoy the normal things a boy of his age should be allowed to enjoy? Or was he unnecessarily restricted? Was school the place where he got to vent his feelings? A host of questions flooded my mind. I thought I would seek answers through Sam and his friends. I must be subtle and not overbearing. This inquiry must not be embarrassing for Sam, or be misconstrued as just plain spying. Since I constantly asked each of them for and about one-another, I did not anticipate complications.

My questions ranged from whether anyone had seen Sam to why he isn't at the center playing with his friends. I also asked the other boys what he does with his time after school and what they thought he would prefer to do with his time when school ended each day.

His friends were willing to share their views on Sam, as they had shared their views and speculations about each other. It was established that Sam does not come to the center, and that he seldom plays in the community. One student remarked that his mother is West Indian and they do things "wierd, meaning differently." As we explored further, the general consensus was that Sam's mother did not like him out of the house except to attend school or run errands. Some felt that Sam was too sheltered, that his parents acted as though he needed "to be protected like he was a daughter." They said he always went home, even when they had important after-school games. They did not appear to resent this, but they certainly laughed at him and in their own way thought it was unhealthy.

How is Sam as a person? Do you like him less because he is not always around? I got various responses to this question. Everyone liked him. Some thought he was missing out on the fun they were having. Others thought that maybe he would be better off in the long run, given the many hours he spends with his books. So we got into a discussion about play versus study and which benefits more.

This conversation occurred outside the center, as I focused on who from the Barber School plays at the center and who does not. Victor was there, as were Roger, Edward, Bill, and Brian. It was a very informative session.

Sam is aware that his friends are concerned and talk about his being at home all the time. He knows that they tease him about not coming out to play and that he is a "Mama's boy." He does not like it, but recognizes that there is nothing he can do.

I examined his feelings about this and got some responses. He admits that his mother is serious about him staying at home and studying. Even though he likes to study, he dislikes doing it all the time. He is the youngest of three boys and his mother works. This places some pressure on him in that he has to help out in the home.

His mother heads the family and I was never able to discover the whereabouts of his father. But it is not without precedent that working single mothers with adolescent children (in this case, three boys, ages 19, 15, 11) find themselves becoming very strict, directive, punitive, and controlling as a way of coping with their own anxieties and the realities of being a single parent. No doubt, Mrs. Leighton is able to train and manage her youngsters by being rigid and having strict rules. However, this style of child-rearing on her part might produce counterproductive results in terms of the boys' overall adjustment.

I kept checking with Sam about once every week, to see how he was doing. I asked him if anything had been decided about my coming into the home. He told me he did not know. After about a month, I visited the Leighton's home again.

Mrs. Leighton answered the door and I politely re-introduced myself. I told her I had returned to see if it was Okay with her to stop by a few evenings or on the week-ends. Without much hesitation, she gave me an indirect no.

"Today (Saturday) we are very busy."

"How about tomorrow?" I inquired.

"Tomorrow is church. We go to church, and we visit relatives after that."

"So when might I be able to come over?"

"I have no idea," was her answer.

"It seems as though we are experiencing difficultiy in finding a mutually agreeable time." She did not respond. "Do you have any suggestions?" I asked her.

"I can't think of anything, young man."

For me the game was over, the facade was lifted. I did not wish to confront her further, because I might have blown everything by doing so, and I needed to continue trying. I also wanted Sam to complete the project's questionnaire. I had worked with him in the Barber School and felt he was useful for the study. So I kept my cool and thanked her for her time, before saying goodbye.

Glancing over my notes under Sam's name, I see the words, "approved for outside of home." This is an indication that permission was not given for the viewing of home interactions.

School visits, and a brief walk from school to home, did not establish a close relationship between Sam and me. It was superficial at best, and lacked the commitments that move encounters beyond the surface. No contacts were possible on the playground. The contact in school was short, and it was intended to be like that.

The few statements I made about Sam in previous paragraphs stand as the most in-depth I will be able to make. He exists under tight controls, and his inability to loosen up when we were alone, gives me the impression that he fears his mother even when she is not visibly present.

He is a tense young man, sometimes even when he is in school. His countenance bespeaks rigidity, control and disgust. I wonder what passes through his head as he watches his peers who are vibrant, enthused, relaxed, and full of life? I wonder if he notices? I wonder what he will be like as a parent? What pathology may be festering under the surface? He is certainly withdrawn, and it appears to be a result of external pressures rather than his own inclination. How content is he with his present circumstances?

My efforts to get at his feelings were unsuccessful. Usually, a conversation would begin by my asking a few questions. When it reached a stage in which I was asking open-ended questions, we had also arrived at his gate. Attempts to involve him in further conversation at this point were usually futile. Once he told me that his mother does not like him to stand in the street, or at the gate. Another time he told me that he is not allowed to stay after school or to hang around the stairs. I ran into a host of dead ends with Sam.

How does one characterize a Sam Leighton? I am not sure I can say more than I have already said.

Maybe he is content with his circumstances, maybe not. Compared to his peers he seems to be missing out on a lot. I never found out how his family feels about school or about the neighborhood. This would have given me some important clues.

Many West Indians are critical of Black Americans, as indeed Black Americans are critical of West Indians. West Indians often misunderstand Black Americans and criticize them for not taking advantage of educational and economic opportunities. They criticize them for their child-rearing practices, for being lazy, and for their allegedly violent behavior. They view Afro-Americans as pleasure-seekers who would rather possess a big car than a decent place to sleep. They criticize them for being dishonest and for generally letting down the Black race.

West Indians, on the other hand, are sometimes labelled "Black Jews" who come to America and stoop low, accepting menial jobs just to get by. They are said to first displace their Black American brothers, and when they achieve upward social mobility, to shun Afro-Americans altogether.

It is not uncommon to find West Indians who hold some or all of these views and who do not mix and do not allow their families to do so either (with Black Americans). Such West Indians hold themselves in high regard and may display airs of superiority.

These considerations make me wonder if something similar may be operating in the Leighton household. I may never really know, for the chance to explore was not available.

D. Two Incidents

1. The Baseball Game

I walked home with Bill, Winston, and Charles: "We got to read this damn book," were Bill's words.

"I ain't going to read it," responded Charles.

"I gonna throw it on my bed and forget it," Bill continued. Turning to Charles, he said, "Man, you going to get burned [punished] when we come in on Tuesday." As abruptly as the conversation started, it ended.

Everyone was hurrying home to get ready for the baseball game. As the boys headed to their respective homes, I went to the field, as had been prearranged.

The opposing team had already assembled. I had not met any of the players, so I found myself an obscure corner to watch the game. I was not quite unobtrusive, for Steven, Winston, Charles, and Brian found me quite easily. The game was going to begin in about thirty minutes, so at their suggestion we went to the far right of the field where Winston and some friends were playing cricket.

"Hi, Coconut Head," in unison the boys called out to Winston.

Steven (Peanut Brain) was encouraging Winston to join them in the baseball championship. Pickle Neck (Bill) intervened. "Man, you know these coconuts (West Indians) can't play no baseball. That's a man's sport."

Victor (Membrane Lip) interjected his piece, but surprisingly in favor of Winston. "Man, don't pay them any mind. Cricket is a gentleman's sport. You're cook [okay] by me."

Things simmered down and Winston was left to play his game. We headed back to the baseball area, where everyone showed signs of beginning the game.

These boys (Bill, Winston, Charles, Brian, Victor, Steven, and Clyde) seem to have an affectionate bond. They tease each other continually as a way of having fun and saying "I care about you." It never gets out of hand, and everyone seems to take his turn. It's ritualistic, energizing, and, from my observations, always appropriate. It's deeply self-disclosing, and because everyone indulges in it periodically, one can surmise that negative consequences, if any, are diffused among the group. They all seem to enjoy it, even when on the receiving end. Winston does not generally exhibit emotions that reveal what he authentically feels. One has to guess that, if anything, he is basically neutral in the face of such a bombardment. I attribute this masking over and my inability to gauge accurately what he is feeling to a cultural hazard, for want of a better word.

British West Indians, males particularly, are taught, and succeed in doing at a very tender age, to mask and hide their emotions. A male runs the risk of being publicly characterized as effeminate for the slightest show of emotions except in moments of elation. These cultures are very rigid when it comes to displaying emotions, especially crying and breaking down. American culture is similar in its prohibition of emotional displays for the male sex, but West Indians sometimes "soften-up" affectively from living in the United States, for the sanctions are not quite as rigid, and the price for an emotional display is not as severe.

A West Indian immigrant inevitably learns that it's okay to be angry and show one's anger. He/she is often confronted with people who unconflictingly state how they feel about a given person or his or her behavior. This accounts in part for West Indians' descriptions of Americans as bold, courageous, and open about themselves and their business.

In conversation, a West Indian parent said to me that Americans are not secretive enough. The Russians need only read the "New York Times" or attend a congressional hearing and all can be known about the U.S. and its affairs. This point is well taken in the context of the foregoing observation.

But the West Indian in American society soon changes. Acculturation erodes the rigidity mentioned earlier, unless he/she subscribes to membership in a purely West Indian subculture which undoubtedly would reinforce those behaviors which were fostered in his "back-home" culture.

Winston is acculturating. I visited him for about four hours during the summer of 1981. In one year I see changes. He now is highly verbal, more open, and expressed himself on a feeling level. He is certainly openly affectionate to his mother. One cannot attribute these changes purely to acculturation, for a rival hypothesis may indeed be maturation. But with regards to the observations made about West Indian culture, one cannot ignore acculturation as having a direct, or at lease peripheral, influence.

The baseball game got off to a slow start. My respondents did not appear enthusiastic about playing the game. They appeared listless and slothfull; and in the final innings they were losing badly. The other team was vociferously alive. They cheered and encouraged each other in the fashion of a cooperation.

Steven yelled to his team captain, "You said you want them out by low pitching the ball. You see Angel pitching--he ain't shit."

This was only a mild example of the vulgarity that plagued the entire game. The game started at about 1:00 PM, following a half-day of school; parents were at work, giving my respondents the liberty to behave in ways that were loose and at times disrespectful. Few adults were present, and those who were did not, in my estimation, have any acquaintance with my respondents. Either that, or the boys were totally impervious to everything around them, including adults whom they may have known.

It was indeed a slow game. My boys appear to be responsible for the pace of the game. By now, I was reasonably competent in deciphering what their attitudes and behaviors meant. This lackadaisical attitude signalled gross dissatisfaction with the way the sport was being played, the opponents, and the results.

In conversations that followed, the boys expressed their dislike for the opponents' attitudes and sportsmanship. "The opposing team wanted to win so badly that you can taste it," they commented. "Consequently they used psychological tactics that pissed us off. They called out to each other all the time, saying dumb things that they thought would confuse us." One of the boys commented, "They were so noisy that it was hard to concentrate."

Their whole decorum, even though not quite deplorable, suggested that something was amiss. Their performance was affected, and from what I knew about them at this point, it was more than superficial.

This kind of response, maladaptive or otherwise, pervades other aspects of their lives, in school and at home. And the peculiarity is that they have all been socialized differently; yet, their responses to annoyance and frustration are identical.

These boys spend a great deal of time together, in and out of school. My hypothesis is that the peer group influence, imitative learning, and emulation of successful and dominant group members may indeed account for the shared reaction. No matter what its causal factors, its influence is profound and pervasive within my group and in other groups they have interacted with in this community.

The game came to an end with my boys as the losers. They cursed and abused the equipment, obviously in frustration. The victors seemed unperturbed by these seemingly unprovoked and sporadic outbursts. Apparently, they were accustomed to this behavior.

As my boys headed home, their comments were caustic and derogatory. They thought very little of the opposing team.

"But, come on now, aren't you sour because you lost--bad sportsmen?" I probed.

"No, no!" echoed two of them. "They didn't play fair."

"What do you mean, they didn't play fair? What did they do that was unfair?"

"You saw them, interference and all," Bill remarked. "That's why we don't like playing that team. They come here with all kinds of stuff (tactics) and we don't like that, so we play a lousy game. It happens all the time. We play the other teams and man, that's heavy (good, enjoyable). Every year is the same stuff."

I sensed that the group had had enough, so I did not pursue the matter any further.

2. Egging

One of the characteristics of qualitative or participant observation research is that it is conducted in the places where real life is carried out; the researcher spends time with those he or she is observing in their own territory.

The perennial question for most qualitative researchers is to what extent to become involved in the activities of the targeted group. The incident described here was the only challenge I faced which required that I engage in some soul-searching in terms of my involvement or non-involvement in the boys' activities. I had grown deeply involved with these students, and had actively participated in all of the things they did without any discomfort. But when they confronted me with an invitation to join them in a nocturnal egg-throwing extravaganza, I was internally shaken.

It was a precarious situation to find myself in, principally because I was emotionally close to them and felt compelled to protect them. A host of responses occurred in me, ranging from condemnation to subtle persuasion not to engage in such a dangerous undertaking. Though these were inconsistent with my objectives as a researcher, it was reassuring to be in touch with them as possibilities.

I drew on my counseling experiences and asked that they tell me some more about this egging business. They insisted that there was nothing to tell, indicating in their own way that one was required to be present in order to fully grasp the event. I shared my unwillingness to accept this rationale, and pointed out that this was a facade. They were employing the facade either to avoid the subject and my questions, or to increase my interest and hence my commitment to join them When I confronted them with these observations, they vacillated and smiled a great deal.

One thing I know about these boys is not to push them. So in this instance I did not. As our interaction continued, anecdotes of who had done what in the art of egging emerged. Suffice it to say that I was invited and asked to be at the assembly point at nine that evening.

The decision to join them was an easy one. It was not what my involvement would be, except that I wanted to be clear of any violence or mishap, yet be close enough to make authentic observations and notes.

The boys were well organized in their egg-throwing activities. Each individual went out equipped with two eggs. Because of the nature of the activity, separation of the group was inevitable and expected. Once separation occurred, it was understood that members would reassemble at a designated point, for regrouping, discussion, and a new supply of eggs.

The group was comprised of six of us, including myself. We edged our way along Buchman Street on our way to Veteran's Parkway. Few words were exchanged about where to go, giving me the impression that this was a routine thing.

No plan had been designed, as far as I was aware, for how the egging was to be done. I surmised that this was probably unnecessary, since everyone knew what was to take place.

When we arrived at the Parkway, The boys walked along the sidewalk and slowed up as they approached a crosswalk. They continued and came to a complete stop at the second crosswalk. They stopped and dispersed to different points. In comparing this corner to the first, I noticed that it had traffic lights. It was later confirmed that the choice was indeed made on this basis.

The boys stood around nonchalantly, but I thought I detected a strategically offensive deployment. They carried the eggs in their hands, quite concealed. No words were exchanged during this seemingly tense period. I stood roughly eight feet from the group, close enough to catch the action, but not hindering any progress. For four or five minutes, nothing happened.

During this period the light changed at least three times and nothing occurred.

The light was red, and as it changed, a red sedan moved gingerly along. Suddenly, one of the boys threw an egg, which exploded on the windshield of the car. Almost simultaneously, eggs exploded on two other vehicles, and with this, the boys took off. They disappeared into two cross streets leading into the abutting neighborhood.

I was not threatened with danger, so I stayed around to get a handle on this fad. One of the cars stopped abruptly, almost causing a rear-end collision. Apparently, the driver behind one of the egged cars was not aware of the problem and started honking his horn frantically. Two other cars stopped and the drivers got out. One man kicked his car and cursed. The other just stood there dumbfounded and stupefied; he looked for a long time in disbelief. Not much more was going to occur as I saw it, so I headed to the assembly spot for the regrouping.

When I arrived, everyone was there. There was laughter and a jovial atmosphere. The boys seemed pleased with what had been accomplished. They were aware of my presence, but did not acknowledge it immediately. One of them expressed the group's interest in what had happened after they had hastily departed. I asked them what they expected to happen, but I never received any intelligible answer.

I shared with them what I had witnessed. This evoked laughter, and they positively stroked each other. For the next hour or so, the group talked about past nocturnal escapades, such as this one. I learned that it was not always uneventful; one evening a driver chased one of the perpetrators on foot, and another was chased by car. No one was ever caught, and that unblemished record remained a proud accomplishment for the group.

The psychology behind this egg-throwing activity is not quite clear to me. I am aware that a host of acrivities characterize the life of the Center City youngster. The "in thing" is to be involved in some kind of activity, and for the most part the influence is strong toward the illegal, the unwholesome, the improper, and the disapproved. These may include the use and sale of drugs, dealing in stolen property, and theft itself. The parents of my boys are aware of the social pathology that resides in this neighborhood; as a consequence, they try to be strict with their children, not strict enough some may argue. Nevertheless, these boys do engage in activities that are deplorable. Is this egg-throwing a form of rebellion against parental strictness (e.g., having to be home by 11:00 PM, when peers are allowed out until 1:00 AM)? Is it keeping up with the crowd? One group smokes marijuana, another steals, yet another destroys property: so we are cool, we do our share, we throw eggs, we are the "in crowd."

I am sure that a variety of other explanations can be proposed, but even with their stimulation, I have been unable to tap the correct reason for this behavior.

I cannot settle for, and do not feel comfortable with, the "mischievous nature" of young boys as an explanation. Suffice it to say that one single explanation escapes me at the moment, but a combination of the above speculations may be in the right direction.

The remainder of that night passed with recapitulations of spectacular "egging" events of the past. No one was quite sure when the next event of this kind would take place. I was asked if I were going to be there. I indicated that I would like to be around as much as the project would allow me to be. Implicit in this answer was, hopefully, the notion that I was not electing to participate because of my fondness for the activity, but that I would be present in order to learn about them and the things they do.

Some weeks later, I was visiting with one of the boys, who asked me to come along to another boy's home. We walked for about three blocks before we arrived at this house. The two boys chatted briefly, and without much hesitation, agreed to do something but did not state what it was. We continued to other homes. This rounding up of peers took about forty-five minutes to an hour, after which the group's composition began to suggest that egging was the possible activity. The original group was present with the addition of one stranger whom I had never met.

This evening of egging did not appear to be pre-planned. The last time egging took place, each person brought his own eggs from home. Now we were all going along but no one had eggs. It briefly defied explanation.

One member asked, "Say, how much you got?" The responses varied, but each reported the amount he had. This was followed by a brief discussion of how much each person was going to contribute and how many eggs were to be bought.

I was somewhat surprised by the openness and directness with which they dealt. The previous encounter, which had occurred about two and a half weeks earlier, was more secretive and disguised. I guess they were now confident of me, and felt I was a member in some way.

Things struck me as organized and expeditious. I attributed this to the individual and collective gratification derived from this game. I had seen these boys engage in a host of acrivities before--academic and recreational-- and most were plagued by unhappiness, annoyance, dissatisfaction, or uncooperativeness. This egging business was different. Intrinsic motivation remained at a high level. Everyone appeared to be propelled by his own forces, rather than external pressures.

This was striking compared to their low levels of motivation in other areas. As far as I can ascertain, "egging" is an infrequent undertaking, and as such, it certainly is not "deep" in their bones, so to speak. It is not a daily routine that forms part of their behavioral repertoire.

To understand this high motivational level, one probably needs to focus on the thrill and challenge associated with unlawful acts. The danger of being caught and possibly hurt escapes consciousness and is replaced by a preoccupation with doing something that's wrong, accompanied by a divine certainty that one will not get caught.

Most people who are caught after illegal, immoral, or unlawful acts report or respond in the same way: "I didn't think I was going to be caught." This suggests that their focus is on something other than being caught and the consequences thereof. Similarly, I think, these boys derive motivation from a sense of solidarity and comradeship. A feeling of breaking the rules together and not being caught appears to be one of the motivating factors probably the principal one. Certainly the enjoyment they derive induces them to continue.

Each person made a contribution and a volunteer bought a dozen eggs. We started out on Bay Path Road and worked our way down Buckman, which led us to Veteran's Parkway. I was curious as to why the Parkway was chosen each time. It was made clear to me that strategic advantages dictate that the Parkway be used for the egging.

The reasons were quite rational, I may add. It's a busy street with heavy flowing traffic, which makes it difficult, if not impossible, for a moving car to turn around and chase some perpetrator, or to even stop in mid-traffic without some consequence. Also, there are many tributaries (small streets, alleys) that flow into the Parkway, offering quick escape routes.

Careful thought and planning had gone into this egging activity.

I was concerned about someone being caught or injured. I asked what happens when they all scamper away following the throwing of the eggs: is each man on his own, or are they concerned about the welfare of each other? How would they know if someone is hurt or caught?

The boys appeared to have labored on planning and executing their egging activity; even contingency plans seem to have been considered. The assembly point was important, not only as a meeting area once the activity was chosen for a given evening, but most importantly as a check-in point once the activity had been completed. The boys were very sophisticated in this endeavor. They took a head count and inquired if someone was excessively late. If someone fails to discharge his eggs, he is required to return to the assembly point. Failure to return to the assembly point for any reason other than being caught is a gross violation of the agreed-upon rules.

This is a very important rule, because if someone does not return to the assembly point that is interpreted as trouble and is cause for worry. If this should happen, they would all carry out a search. Each man is then allowed half an hour to work his way to the Parkway and back. He observes while on this assignment, and asks questions if he must. If all of this fails to turn up the missing comrade, a call is made to his home. So as not to alarm parents, calling is discouraged, and is only used as a last resort.

The boys are quick to point out that all troops have always returned safely. They are proud of this record and insist that all will continue to go smoothly.

Once we got situated on Veteran's Parkway, I assumed a somwehat low profile on the periphery of the activity. The boys assumed their positions with such ease and nonchalance that no one could have suspected what was about to happen. They were "cool."

Two of them got their eggs off. The injured car sped into the night with no sign that communicated to us that the passengers were aware of or annoyed by these missiles hurled at them.

Two others got their eggs off. One driver stuck his head out the window and cursed. The other stopped his vehicle and came out. He was looking in the direction of the boys with raised and clenched fists. The boys do not always run immediately. In this case, as they have before, they assumed a running posture but may abort if no danger is imminent or impending. They observe for a brief period, and if nothing threatening is sighted they remain in the immediate vicinity.

No threat was apparent to the boys or to me. But to our great surprise, a motorcycle came charging towards the sidewalk, its rider shouting at the top of his lungs, "Got you, motherfuckers!" The boys were panic-stricken. In the confusion, one hid behind a tree and headed into the neighborhood later, when he thought it was safe. One ran across the Parkway, towards the lake and disappeared among the joggers. Meanwhile, the motorcyclist was having difficulty chasing anyone. The boys had taken advantage of the terrain and made good their escape. The motorcycle could not quite maneuver among the sidewalk, the grass, a construction project in a side street, and curious bystanders.

In less than five minutes, the confusion was over. The boys had disappeared; the motorcyclist had stopped and was surrounded by a group of three onlookers, and a man across the street was cleaning his car. As I drew closer to the motorcycle crowd, someone was describing the boys as "bastards." I hastened on my way to the meeting place, concerned, curious, and anxious about where the boys were and what they were feeling.

I got there and no one was present. I hung around for about twenty minutes and no one came. What I had witnessed gave me the feeling that they had been frightened by it all; I knew, somehow, that no one had been caught. Where were they and what had gone wrong? I did not think that they would return to the scene; it was too hot and dangerous. I went to the center, a regular spot for hanging out, even after it has closed for the night. No one was there.

I made the decision not to return to the egging scene, but to wait around a little while longer. About fifteen minutes elapsed and no one showed. It was now about 11:30 in the evening, and a cool breeze was blowing. I thought of calling at least two of the boys, in an effort to find out if everything was fine. Usually, most of these boys are allowed to stay out an extra hour or so on week-ends, so I could call their homes until 12:30 or 12:45. Since I still had some time, checking a few of the places where they hang out was appropriate.

Someone had mentioned beer, earlier that evening, so I decided to check a soda and beer store where they sometimes hang around. They weren't there. My next move was to pass by their homes with the idea that if they were still outside, possibly we could discuss the happenings of the evening.

I had no lunch. The boys were no place to be found. My last resort was to call. I went to a nearby candy store and got some change. The first two numbers I reached were busy. The third call roused a parent, who stated that my subject had retired to bed. The fourth call I placed was also answered by a parent, who indicated that his son was not home. Finally, I reached one of my boys.

He seemed reluctant to talk. "Is everything Okay?" I asked.

"Yeah, man, fine! Everything is cool."

"Could we talk about tonight?"

"Now?!"

"Well, the first thing is, are the boys all safe and Okay?"

"Everyone is home."

"Do you want to talk on the phone, or should I come by?"

"I am in now. We can talk tomorrow at the center."

I took this as a signal that the time wasn't right to discuss the matter. With that thought I bid him goodbye and we agreed to talk later.

My desire to talk with them immediately came from my psychology training, in which I learned that an individual is apt to provide more cognitive and affective data if asked about an event right after it occurs, and much less if the information-gathering is delayed. However, I resigned myself to the fact that the next day was close, and that a few carefully constructed questions would yield the information I sought.

I tried to make sense of what had occurred. Fear certainly had driven them home. I guessed that a sense of security could be found in the safe confines of their homes. Despite the bravado and tough exterior, these were fragile and vulnerable youths. They should have been scared; they had come very close to being caught and exposed. I wondered how this close call would affect them, their behavior, their future involvement in the egging business.

My hunch was that they would slow down for a while. They prided themselves on not being caught. This close call would inevitably lead to reflection and reassessment. This was my hunch; and I certainly wanted to test it out.

We did not decide on a specific time to meet, but I had an idea of where and about what time the boys would be out. I got to the center about 1:15 that Saturday and hastened to the basketball court in search of them. I found three of them there. One was seated on a chair and the other two were playing on the court. As I headed towards the one who was seated, his eyes caught me coming and he smiled; but with the smile he looked away, avoiding my eyes. This was unusual; I did not recall it happening before. I felt he was embarrassed, or at least self-conscious--by a kind of naked exposure he was feeling.

I confronted him later, on this, and he admitted to feeling stupid, like a fool--a feeling he had never experienced before in my presence. I tried to explore this some more, but to no avail. He had no thoughts about why he felt that way, and could not make any connection to the egging incident.

Other youngsters were around, so I did not want to mention the incident or make inquiries about it. The other two boys noticed me, and one called out, "Hey, Mr. McKenzie!" I responded and watched him as he kept on playing. The tension and/or anxiety were building up in me. Once again I was put off, for the situation demanded that I wait a little while longer to obtain the information.

From my previous experience, I decided that the chances for a group discussion about the egging incident were slim for the moment. How could I bring about some action in this regard was my thought. Though waiting certainly would have yielded results, this inactive response only prolonged the agony.

The student seated next to me could give me some feedback about what happened. I decided to start with him. "Could we talk outside for a while? It's about the research project, but it's too noisy in here." He did not respond verbally, but got up and headed towards the ramp leading to the exit. I followed him and as we cleared the ramp, he wanted to know whether to go into the basement or outside. I told him anyplace was fine with me.

He decided to go outside and I followed. Somehow he appeared excessively non-verbal, and I guessed that something was bothering him. As we were alone outside, I shared my perceptions and inquired if he were Okay.

He said, "I guess so."

I shared with him how worried I was about what had happened, not knowing if everyone was safe. I inquired as to what had happened. He told me he wasn't sure, that he had gotten scared by the motorcycle and had run into a side street. He did not look around for anyone but continued running and could not stop until he got home. His parents felt something terrible had happened to him, but tried in vain to get it out of him. He had wanted to tell them so badly, but he feared a flogging, which would have led to them calling other parents. He said that no one had talked about what happened because everyone was still scared. He reported to me that he had a bad night. When I inquired into this he indicated that his sleep was frequently interrupted by the memory of what had occurred.

He looked away as he spoke to me. He appeared to be uncomfortable. I eased up on him, allowing him to go where he wanted to. It was Okay with me if he didn't want to talk more. I could always come back when the frightful memory was manageable, or had subsided. There were others with their experiences to share.

I switched gears and entered a counseling mode. "You seem deeply disturbed by this haunting memory of what happened last night."

"I guess so," was his response.

"I can understand, and if you don't want to talk about it anymore today, it's fine with me." A silence gripped us, and for three minutes nothing was said. "You think maybe you would like to talk about it some other time?"

"Maybe."

"Well, I would love for us to deal with it when you want to."

He nodded his head in approval and that signalled the end of our conversation.

I returned to the game which was still in progress. I hung around for about forty-five minutes, after which time the game was coming to an end.

I tapped the two students on their shoulders and made it known that I wanted to see them after they had washed up. It was a five minute wait which seemed forever.

My first statement as they returned was, "Tell me what happened last night." They both hesitated and slapped each other five (a kind of hand shake). One said, "Man, you don't want to know!" With that, the other began talking

"We had no idea things were going to get so bad. The dude on the motorcycle scared the shits outa me. Man, he was crazy. I thought he was going to run us down. But he couldn't handle the machine and that's how I made my escape. It was crazy. The dude could hurt people like that."

"What happened when you got away?"

"Man, I ran like hell. No dude was going to get me in trouble."

"What do you mean, 'in trouble'?"

"If the dude with the motorcycle had run into me, then the police, parents, and ending up in the hospital would really get us into trouble. You know, everybody would know what we been up to. Even teachers and students would know what we been doing."

"Why did everyone go home, rather than meet at the assembly point?"

"Some of us were scared. Home was the best place to go."

"Why?"

"If anyone came looking for us and we were at home, then that was safe."

"Where did the others go?" From what he said, one student went to a friend's home and another hung out by the center until he thought it was safe to go home.

"Anything else happened?"

"We sure ain't going back there no more."

"Are you all going to continue egging?"

"I don't know. There is no talk about going back right now. I don't know how they feel, but I am still scared about getting hurt and my parents finding out. I don't know if I want to again. It used to be fun, but it got real bad. I don't know if we are going to do this again."

It was obvious to me that this incident had affected most members of this group. Those who were involved in the motorcycle incident seemed to be affected more and carried the horrifying memories of that evening. The enthusiasm and laughter that characterized the conversations on egging were gone. Instead, the boys were somber, reflective, and to some degree remorseful.

I think the boys learned their lesson. Returning to the egging activity would require the passage of time, and recommitment of the group or a major part thereof.

Would they continue to be "mischievous?" I think so.

Mischief is all around them. People seem bent on using their energies and talents in negative ways and to negative ends, according to most of society's norms.

There is a poignant sociological argument that states in part that this society contains a permanent underclass; consequently, 6% unemployment is considered full employment. Poor, unskilled, and uneducated Americans are most affected by this, and a great majority of these are Black.

The culture of poverty thesis stipulates that America is a land of plenty with prodigious opportunity for all: those who do not take advantage of this opportunity are failures. And to be a failure in this society is to be stigmatized, is socially and intrapersonally painful.

So, those communities that are not capable of providing resources whereby young people can profitably and pleasurably occupy their spare time well, according to this sociological theory, see their young people channel their energies into socially unacceptable modes of behavior.

The Center City community is undernourished in this regard. There is hardly enough to provide for cultural and sports appetites that exist in the community. The neighborhood center is inadequate, even though it tries its best. The Barber School provides music lessons, when school is in session. But there is a multitude of young talent and energy that is unreached. Few legitimate sources for venting frustrations exist. The lack of legitimate outlets is a factor that contributes to juvenile delinquency and other social pathologies.

Young Blacks see the shrinking resources, and often the lack of resources. They see idle adults, and they are soberly aware of the high unemployment rate among Blacks. They lose hope, they lose motivation; they conclude that an attempt at a legitimate climb up the social ladder through education will lead to a dead end.

What are the alternatives? Unlawful activities. My observations of life in Center City lead me to conclude that things will get desperate along the lines I have mentioned. Parents may try with their children, but someone has to provide leadership in finding avenues for young and older people to fulfill their dreams, to self-actualize.

Some frustration is evident in parents. "Where are things going?" was frequently the comment. And this was communicated to youngsters by parents. The search for summer jobs for teenagers is a particular headache for parents. Frustration levels probably reach all-time lows on this matter.

While Center City is not alone in its troubles, whether or not it is unique is irrelevant and unimportant to those who dwell there, and certainly to those with whom I had contact.

No egging activity occurred for a period of about two months after the disastrous evening, so far as I was aware. I inquired about it on various occasions, but never got a clear answer. "We don't like that stuff," was one response to my question, "Do you still go out egging?"

Probably the boys outgrew this kind of passtime. In the summer of 1981, I saw all of them, and they indicated that they were now into other things, such as girls, sports, and schools.

Raw Score Means and Standard Deviations To be Used As Norms

	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
SCHOOL CLIMATE VARIABLES		
Community	2.48	.55
Accessibility & Receptivity	2.53	.52
Involvement	2.15	.51
Equal Treatment	2.67	.50
Groupings	2.47	.52
Learning Orienation	2.64	.53
Expressiveness	2.52	.52
Goal Direction	2.52	.49
Challenge	2.66	.48
Dealing With Problems	2.52	.50
Order	2.66	.53
Options	2.74	.50
Influence Distribution	2.15	.54
HOME CLIMATE VARIABLES		
Cohesiveness	3.01	.60
Communications	2.86	.66
Involvement	2.93	.58
Ethnicity	2.59	.54
Equity	2.63	.64
School Learning	3.00	.54
Out-of-School Learning	2.90	.53
Aspirations and Identity	3.13	.53
Maturity	2.86	.43
Dealing With Problems	2.82	.53
Structure	2.34	.53
Influence	2.65	.52
External Relations	2.48	.49

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